Sima Qian's

Historical Records

Chapters 1-5

[The Earliest Period]

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Wikipedia:

Sima Qian, author and compiler (about 145 BC – about 86 BC).
Sima Qian, Google search of Wikipedia.

Shiji, "Historical Records," also known as *Records of the Grand Historian*.
List of Chapters in *Shiji*.

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Shiji
1-5

1. Annals of the Five Emperors 五帝本紀

2. Annals of the Xia 夏本紀

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Annals of the Five Emperors
五帝本紀

Shiji 1

1. Huangdi (Yellow emperor) was the son of Shaodian. His surname was Gongsun, and his prename Xuanyuan. Born a genius he could speak when a baby, as a boy he was quick and smart, as a youth simple and earnest, and when grown up intelligent.

2. In the time of Xuanyuan, Shennong became enfeebled. The princes made raids on each other and harassed the people, but Shennong could not chastise them, so Xuanyuan exercised himself in the use of weapons of war, so as to be able to punish irregularities. The princes all came and did homage, but Chiyou, the fiercest of all, could not be subdued. Yandi (Flame emperor) wished to oppress the princes, so they turned to Xuanyuan, who practised virtue, marshalled his men, controlled the five elements, cultivated the five kinds of grain, pacified the nations, and went over all parts of his country. Training black bears, grizzly bears, foxes, panthers, lynxes, and tigers, he, with their aid, fought with 'Flame emperor' in the desert of Banquan, and, after three battles, realised his wishes. Chiyou was a rebel, who did not obey the Emperor's command, so Huangdi, levying an army of the princes, fought against Chiyou, captured, and slew him in the desert of Zhuolu. The princes all agreed that Xuanyuan should be the Emperor in place of Shennong, under the title Huangdi. Those in the empire who would not submit, Huangdi pursued and chastised, and when they were subdued he left them. He made cuttings in hills, opened roads, and was never at rest.

3. Eastward his empire extended to the sea, Ball hill, and the ancestral Dai mountain; westward to 'Hollow cave' and Cock's-head hills; southward to the Yangtze river and Xiongxiang hill; while in the north he drove out the Xunyu. He made a treaty on Kettle hill, and built a city on the slopes of Zhuolu. He was constantly changing his residence, while his troops formed an encampment about him. He ordered his officers to be named after cloud omens. He appointed a chief and deputy superintendent over international affairs, and the various states being at peace, he worshipped the demons and spirits of the hills and streams with the feng and shan ceremonies in numbers. He obtained a valuable tripod, and made calculations of future events, appointing 'Chief of the winds,' 'Strength-governor,' 'Everfirst,' and 'Great Swan,' to direct the people to act in accordance with the celestial and terrestrial arrangements, the dark and bright prognostications, the disputations on life and death, the planting of the crops, plants, and trees in their seasons, and the transformations of birds, beasts, insects, and moths. He also prepared a record of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars; the flow of the tides; and the properties of clay, stones, metals, and gems. He devoted much careful attention to these things, and his observation was applied to ascertaining how fire, water, wood, and other elements could be used economically. There was an auspicious omen of the earth's energy, and he was therefore called 'Yellow god.'

4. Huangdi had twenty-five sons, of whom fourteen received surnames.

5. Huangdi lived at Xuanyuan hill, and married a woman of 'Western range' land called Leizu, who was his principal wife, and bore him two sons, both of whose descendants held Imperial sway. The eldest, named Xuanxiao, or Qingyang, dwelt on the Jiang stream, and the other, who was named Changyi, dwelt on the Ruo stream. Changyi married a woman from the Shu hills (Sichuan) named Changpu, who bore him a son, Gaoyang, who possessed the virtue of a sage. Huangdi died, and was buried at Qiaoshan, and his grandson, Changyi's son Gaoyang, came to the throne under the title Emperor Zhuanxu.

6. Emperor Zhaunxu, or Gaoyang, was Huangdi's grandson and Changyi's son. Calm and unfathomable in his designs, and thoroughly versed in all matters, he exercised his talents in cultivating the ground; he recorded in their seasons the movements of the heavenly bodies, relied on spiritual influences in framing laws, taught reform by controlling the passion nature, and sacrificed with purity and sincerity. Northward his rule extended to 'Dark mound,' southward to Annam, westward to the moving sands, and eastward to 'Coiling tree'. Of animate and inanimate things, of spirits great and small, of those on whom the sun and moon shone, all were equally subject to him.

7. Emperor Zhuanxu had a son, Chiungchan. Zhuanxu died, and Xuanxiao's grandson Gaoxin came to the throne under the title of Emperor Ku.

8. Emperor Ku, or Gaoxin was Huangdi's great grandson, his father being Jiaoji, whose father was Xuanxiao, whose father was Huangdi. Neither Xuanxiao, nor Jiaoji came to the throne, but Gaoxin did hold Imperial sway. Gaoxin was a clansman of Zhuanxu.

9. Being born a genius Gaoxin spoke from babyhood. He distributed his benefits everywhere, regardless of self. Intelligent enough to understand things far off, and clever enough to search into minutiae, he followed Heaven's laws, and knew the people's needs. Humane yet dignified, kind yet truthful; he practised self-culture and all men submitted to him. He secured the revenue of the land, and spent it economically. He governed and instructed all his subjects, and they profited by the instruction. He made a calendar of the days and months past as well as future. He knew all about spirits, and worshipped them respectfully. His appearance was elegant, and his virtue eminent. His movements were well-timed, and his dress gentlemanly. Emperor Ku was thoroughly impartial all over his empire. There was no one on whom the sun and moon shone, or on whom the rain and wind blew, who was not devoted to him.

10. Emperor Ku married a daughter of Chenfeng, who bore a son named Fangxun ('The highly meritorious'). He also married a daughter of Juzi, who bore a son Zhi. Emperor Ku died, and Zhi reigned in his stead. Zhi reigned badly and died, and his brother 'The highly meritorious one' reigned under the title of Emperor Yao.

11. Emperor Yao was highly meritorious. His benevolence was like that of heaven, and his wisdom that of a god; when approached he was genial as the sun, and was looked out for as clouds in dry weather. He was rich without being proud, and esteemed yet not lax. He wore a yellow hat and plain silk dress, and drove a red car drawn by white horses. He was able to display his supereminent virtue, by bringing into close alliance the nine degrees of kindred, and they being rendered harmonious, he forthwith regulated the people, and his people having become enlightened, the various states were at peace.

12. He then commanded Xi and He in reverent accordance with their observations of the wide heavens to record in a calendar the laws affecting the sun, moon, stars, and zodiacal spaces, and

respectfully to communicate to the people the seasons (adapted for labour). He also commanded Xi's younger brother to reside at Yuyi, called the bright valley, so as to hail with respect the rising sun, and arrange the labours of the spring; and the day being of medium length, and the culminating star (the central one of the) 'Bird' quarter of the heavens, he was to determine midspring, when the people begin to disperse, and birds and beasts to breed and copulate. He further commanded Xi's third brother to reside at the southern frontier to arrange the transformations of summer, and respectfully observe the extreme limit (of the shadow), and the day being at its longest, and the star in the zenith that called 'Fire,' he was to fix the exact period of midsummer, when the people are most widely dispersed, birds moult, and beasts change their coats. He further commanded He's younger brother to reside in the west at a place called Dark Valley to respectfully convoy the setting sun, and arrange the completing labours of the autumn, and the night being of medium length, and the culminating star Xu (β in Aquarius) to determine mid-autumn, when people begin to feel comfortable, and birds and beasts look smooth and glossy. He further commanded He's third brother to reside in the northern region in what was called the sombre capital, to examine the hidden things, and the day being at its shortest, and the culminating star Mao (ε in Pleiades) to determine midwinter, when people get into cosy corners, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick. The year consisted of 366 days, an intercalary month being added to adjust the four seasons. Authentic directions were given to the various officers, and their several labours commenced.

13. Yao said, 'Who can obediently manage these matters?' Fangqi said, 'There is your adopted son Danzhu, who is developing his intelligence.' Yao said, 'Oh! he is unscrupulous and wicked; I cannot employ him.' He said again, 'Who will do it?' Huandou said, 'The minister of works, who is generally popular, and has displayed merit, could be employed.' Yao said, 'The minister of works is talkative; if he is employed, his depravities, although he is apparently respectful, would overspread the heavens, he will not do.' He said further, 'Alas! O president of the four mountains, the waters of the flood rise up to heaven, and in their vast expanse encompass the mountains, and overtop the hills; the common people are troubled about it. Is there a capable man whom I could set to deal with the matter?' They all said, 'Gun might do it.' Yao said, 'Gun disobeys orders, and ruins his companions. He will not do.' The President said, 'Ah! well! try him, and if he is found useless, have done with him.' Whereupon Yao adopting his suggestion, employed Gun for nine years, but his work was not completed.

14. Yao said, 'Alas! O president of the four mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years; you are able to carry out the decrees, do you occupy my throne.' The president replied, 'My moral qualities are of such a low order that I should disgrace the Imperial throne.' Yao said, 'You must all recommend one of your esteemed relations, or even an obscure stranger.' All the courtiers said to Yao, 'There is an unmarried man of the lower orders called Shun of Yu.' Yao said, 'Yes, I have heard of him, what is he like?' The president said, 'He is the son of a blind man; his father was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his brother arrogant, but he managed by his dutiful conduct to be reconciled to them, so they have gradually improved, and not been extremely wicked.' 'Shall I try him?' said Yao. He then married his two daughters to Shun, and watched his behaviour towards them. Shun sent the two women down to the north of the Gui river, and treated them with the ceremony due to them as his wives.

Yao praised Shun, and told him to carefully harmonize the five human relationships and when they could be obeyed. These became universal among the various officials, who at the proper times arranged the visitors at the four gates in the right order, and when the visitors at the four gates were submissive, the princes and strangers from distant regions became one and all respectful. Yao sent

Shun into the hills and forests among rivers and swamps, but although fierce winds and thunderstorms prevailed, Shun did not miss his way. Yao then taking Shun to be a holy man, called him and said, 'For three years your deliberations have been excellent, and I have found that your words can be carried into practice. You shall ascend the Imperial throne.' Shun yielded in favour of some one more virtuous than himself, and was unhappy, but on the first day of the first month Shun accepted Yao's resignation in the temple of the accomplished ancestor, who was Yao's great ancestor.

15. The Emperor Yao being old ordered that Shun should be associated with him in the government of the Empire in order to observe Heaven's decrees. Shun thereupon examined the gem-adorned armillary sphere, and the jade transverse, so as to adjust the position of the 'Seven Directors.' He then offered a special sacrifice to the Supreme Ruler, sacrificed purely to the six honoured ones, looked with devotion to the hills and rivers, and worshipped with distinctive rites the hosts of spirits. He called in the five tokens, chose a lucky month and day, gave audience to the president of the four mountains, and all the governors, returning the tokens in due course. In the second month of every year he went eastward on a tour of inspection, and on reaching Daizong he presented a burnt-offering, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. He then gave audience to the chieftains of the East, putting in accord their seasons and months, and rectifying the days. He rendered uniform the standard tubes, the measures of length and capacity, and the scales; and regulated the five kinds of ceremonies. The five gems, the three kinds of silks, the two living animals, and one dead one were brought as presents to the audience, but the five implements were returned at the conclusion. In the fifth month he went to the south, in the eighth month to the west, and in the eleventh month northward on his tours of inspection; in each case observing the same ceremonies as before, and on his return he went to the temple of the ancestral tablets, and offered up a single ox. Every five years there was one tour of inspection, and four audiences of the princes at court, when they presented a full verbal report, which was intelligently tested by their works, and chariots and robes given according to their deserts. Shun instituted the division of the Empire into twelve provinces, and deepened the rivers. He gave delineations of the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five chief punishments, the whip being employed for public officers, the stick in schools, and a money penalty being inflicted for redeemable crimes. Inadvertent offences, and those caused by misfortune were to be pardoned, and those who offended presumptuously or repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Be reverent, be reverent' (said he), 'and in the administration of the law be tranquil.'

16. Huandou approached, and spoke about the minister of works. 'I cannot even give him a trial as a workman,' said Yao, 'for he is really profligate.' The president of the four mountains recommended Gun as the proper person to look after the deluge. Yao regarded it as impracticable, but the president vehemently requested that he might be tried, so the trial was made, but without good results. Of old the people had felt that it was undesirable that the three Miao tribes in the districts of Jiang Huai, and Jing should so often rise in rebellion; so Shun on his return spoke to the emperor requesting that the minister of works might be banished to the ridge of Yu to reform the Northern Ti tribes, that Huandou might be detained on mount Chong, to reform the Southern barbarians, that the chief of the three Miao tribes might be removed to Sanwei (three cliffs) to reform the Western Rong people, and that Gun might be imprisoned for life on Mount Yu to reform the Eastern barbarians. These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire.

17. Yao had sat on the throne seventy years, when he secured Shun's services for twenty years; then, being old, he directed that Shun should be associated with him in the government of the empire, and presented him to Heaven. Yao had abdicated the throne twenty-eight years when he died, and the

people mourned for him as for a parent, no music being played for three years throughout the empire, for which reason he was remembered. Yao knew that his son Danzhu was a worthless fellow, who was not fit to reign, and so the authority was conferred on Shun. As it was conferred on Shun, the empire got the advantage and Danzhu was injured. If it had been conferred on Danzhu, the empire would have been injured, and Danzhu gained the advantage. Yao said, 'We certainly cannot cause the empire to suffer loss, and the advantage go to an individual.' In the end the empire was given over to Shun. After the death of Yao, when the three years' mourning was over, Shun gave way to Danzhu, and retired to the south of the southern river. When the princes went to an audience at court, they did not present themselves before Danzhu, but before Shun; litigants did not go before Danzhu, but Shun; and the singers did not sing in praise of Danzhu, but of Shun. Shun said, 'It is from Heaven.' Afterwards he went to the capital, sat on the Imperial throne, and was styled Emperor Shun.

18. Shun of Yu was named Chonghua (double splendour); Chonghua's father was Gusou; Gusou's father was Qiaoniu (bridge cow); Qiaoniu's father was Juwang; Juwang's father was Jingkang; Jingkang's father was Qiongchan; Qiongchan's father was Emperor Zhuanxu; Zhuanxu's father was Changyi. From him to Shun we have seven generations. From Qiongchan to Emperor Shun they were all insignificant common people.

19. Shun's father, Gusou, was blind, and his mother having died, Gusou married again and had a son, Xiang, who was arrogant. Gusou loved his second wife, and frequently tried to kill Shun, who avoided him; when he made slight mistakes he was punished, yet he obediently served his father, stepmother, and brother, and was day by day generous, careful, and never negligent.

20. Shun was a native of Jizhou, ploughed on Li mountain, fished in Thunder lake, made pots on the bank of the river, fashioned various articles at Shouqiu, and went now and then to Fuxia. Shun's father, Gusou, was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his brother, Xiang, arrogant. They all tried to kill Shun, who was obedient, and never by chance failed in his duty as a son, or his fraternal love. Though they tried to kill him they did not succeed, and when they sought him he got out of the way.

21. When Shun was twenty years old he was noted for his filial piety, and when he was thirty the Emperor Yao asked if he was fit to reign. The presidents united in bringing Shun of Yu forward as an able man, so Yao gave him his two daughters in marriage in order to observe his conduct at home, and bade his nine sons put him in charge of a post so as to note his behaviour abroad. Shun lived within the bend of the Kuei river, and was especially careful. Yao's two daughters did not dare, on account of their rank, to be proud, but waited on Shun's relations, and were constant in their wifely duties, while Yao's nine sons became more and more generous. When Shun ploughed on Li mountain, the inhabitants yielded the boundaries; when he fished in Thunder lake, the men on the lake yielded to him the best place; and when he made pots on the bank of the river, his vessels had no holes or flaws in them. If he dwelt in a place for a year he formed an assemblage, in two years it became a town, and in three a metropolis. Yao gave Shun clothes made of fine grass-cloth, and a lute, and built him a granary and shed for his oxen and sheep. Gusou again tried to kill Shun by making him go up and plaster the roof of the granary, while he set fire to it from below, but Shun, protecting himself from the fire with a couple of bamboo hats, came down and escaped with his life. Gusou after this told Shun to dig a well, which he did, making a secret tunnel at the side to get out at. When Shun had gone right in, Gusou and Xiang filled up the well with earth, but Shun came out by the secret passage. Gusou and Xiang rejoiced, thinking that Shun was dead, and Xiang said, 'The

plot was mine, but I will go shares with my father and mother; I will take Shun's wives, Yao's two daughters, and the lute as my share, while the oxen, sheep, granary and shed shall belong to my parents.' He remained, however, in Shun's house playing on the lute, and when Shun went thither Xiang, startled and not well-pleased to see him, said, 'I was just thinking of you, and getting very anxious.' 'Quite so,' said Shun, 'and so you possessed yourself of all these things.' Shun again served Gusou, loved his brother, and was still more careful in his conduct. Yao thereupon tested Shun as to the five cardinal rules, and the various officers were under control.

22. In former days the Emperor Gaoyang had eight talented sons; the world benefited by them, and they were called the eight benevolent ones. The Emperor Gaoxin had also eight talented sons, and men called them the eight virtuous ones. Of these sixteen men after ages have acknowledged the excellence, and not let their names fall to the ground. In the time of Yao he was not able to raise them to office, but Shun raised the eight benevolent ones to office, and made them superintend the land department and direct all matters, arranging them according to their seasons. He also raised the right virtuous ones to office, employing them to spread throughout the country a knowledge of the duties pertaining to the five social relationships, for fathers became just, mothers loving, elder brothers sociable, younger ones respectful, and children dutiful; within the empire there was peace, and beyond it submission.

23. In ancient days the Emperor Hong (Huangdi) had a son devoid of ability, who shut himself off from duty, and was a villain in secret, delighting in the practice of the worst vices, and all men called him Hundun (Chaos). (The Emperor) Shaohao had a descendant devoid of ability, who overthrew good faith, hated loyalty, extolled specious and evil talk, and all the people called him Qiongji (Monster). Zhuanxu had a son devoid of ability, who would receive no instruction and acknowledge no good words, and all the people called him Taowu (Block). These three men everyone was distressed about until the time of Yao, but Yao could not send them away. Jinyun had a son devoid of ability, who was greedy in eating and drinking, and pursued wealth blindly. All the people called him Taotie (Glutton), hated and compared him to the three other wicked men. Shun received visitors at the four gates, but banished these four wicked ones to the four borders of the empire to manage hobgoblins; and those at the four gates rightly said there were no wicked men among them.

24. Shun went to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, and, amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, did not go astray. Yao then knew that Shun was fit to accept the empire, and being old, caused Shun to be associated with him in the government, and when he went on a tour of inspection Shun was promoted and employed in the administration of affairs for twenty years; and Yao having directed that he should be associated in the government, he was so associated for eight years. Yao died, and when the three years' mourning was over, Shun yielded to Danzhu, but the people of the empire turned to Shun. Now Yu, Gaoyao, Xie, Houji, Boyi, Kui, Long, Chui Yi, and Pengzu were all from the time of Yao promoted to office, but had not separate appointments. Shun having then proceeded to the temple of the accomplished ancestor, deliberated with the president of the four mountains, threw open the four gates, and was in direct communication with officers in all four quarters of the empire, who were eyes and ears to him. He ordered the twelve governors to talk of the Emperor's virtue, to be kind to the virtuous, and keep the artful at a distance, so that the barbarians of the south might lead on one another to be submissive. He said to the president of the four mountains, 'Is there anyone who can vigorously display his merits, aud beautify Yao's undertakings, and whom I can make prime minister?' They all said, 'There is Baron Yu, the superintendent of works,' he can beautify the Emperor's labours. Shun said, 'Ah! yes, Yu, you have put in order the water and the land, but in this matter you must exert yourself.' Yu did obeisance with

his head to the ground, while declining in favour of Hou Ji (Millet), Xie, or Gaoyao. Shun said, 'Yes; but do you go and set about it.' Shun said, 'Qi, the black-haired people begin to be famished. Do you, Prince Millet, sow in their seasons the various kinds of grain.' He also said, 'Xie, the people do not love one another, and the five orders of relationship are not observed. You, as minister of instruction, must carefully diffuse abroad those five lessons of duty, but do so with gentleness.' He also said, 'Gaoyao, the southern barbarians are disturbing the summer region, while robbers, murderers, villains, and traitors abound. Do you, as minister of crime, exercise repression by use of the five kinds of punishment—for the infliction of which there are three appointed places—and the five banishments with their several places of detention, and the three degrees of distance. Be intelligent and you will inspire confidence.' Shun said, 'Who can direct the workmen?' They all said 'Chui can do it'; so he made Chui minister of works. Shun said, 'Who can superintend my uplands and lowlands, pastures and woods, birds and beasts?' They all said, 'Yi is the man'; so Yi was made imperial forester. Yi did obeisance with his head to the ground, and declined in favour of the officials Fir, Tiger, Black Bear, and Grizzly Bear. Shun said, 'Go and act harmoniously.' Fir, Tiger, Black Bear, and Grizzly Bear were accordingly his assistants. Shun said, 'Ah! president of the four mountains, is there anyone who can superintend the three ceremonies?' They all said, 'Baron Yi is the man.' Shun said, 'Ah! Baron Yi, I will make you arranger of the ancestral temple. Day and night be careful, be upright, be pure.' Baron Yi declined in favour of Kui or Long, but Shun said, 'Let it be so,' and made Kui director of music and teacher of youth. 'Be straightforward' (he added) 'and yet mild; lenient and yet stern; firm, yet not tyrannical; impetuous, yet not arrogant. Poetry gives expression to the thought, and singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression. Notes accompany that utterance, and are harmonized themselves by the pitch-pipes. The eight kinds of instruments can be adjusted, so that one shall not take from or interfere with another, and spirits and men are thereby brought into harmony.' Kui said, 'Oh! I smite the stone; I tap the stone, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.' Shun said, 'Long, I dread slanderous speakers and injurious deceivers, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you minister of communication. Day and night you will issue and receive my orders, but be truthful.' Shun said, 'Ah! you twenty and two men, be reverent, and you will aid in their proper seasons the undertakings of heaven.' Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations there were degradations and promotions both far and near. The people's labours generally prospered, while the people of the three Miao tribes were divided and defeated.

25. These twenty-two all completed their labours. Gaoyao was chief minister of crime, and the people were all subservient and obtained his genuine services. Boyi was director of ceremonies, and both upper and lower classes were retiring. Chui was head workman, and the various kinds of work were successfully accomplished. Yi was head forester, and hills and swamps were brought under cultivation. Qi was director of agriculture, and the various crops ripened in their seasons. Xie was minister of instruction, and the people were friendly together. Long superintended the foreign department, and men from afar arrived. The twelve governors did their duty, and the people of the nine provinces did not dare to rebel. But Yu's labours consisted in making great cuttings through the nine hills, making thoroughfares through the nine swamps, deepening the nine rivers, and regulating the nine provinces, each of which by their officials sent tribute, and did not lose their rightful dues. In a square of 5000 li he reached the wild domain. To the south he governed Annam; on the north he reduced the western Rong tribes, Xizhi, Chusou, and the Qiang of Di; on the north the hill Rong tribes and the Xishen; and on the east the tall island barbarians. All within the four seas were grateful for Emperor Shun's labours; and Yu then performed the nine tunes, and the result was that strange creatures and phœnixes flew to and fro. Men of illustrious virtue in the empire began from the days of Emperor Shun of Yu.

26. When Shun was twenty years of age he was noted for his filial piety, at thirty Yao raised him to office, at fifty he assisted in the administration of Imperial affairs, when he was fifty-eight Yao died, and when he was sixty-one he sat on the Imperial throne in Yao's stead. After he had occupied the Imperial throne thirty-nine years, he went on a hunting expedition to the south, died in the desert of Cangwu, and was buried at a place called Lingling (broken hillocks) in the Jiuyi range in Jiangnan province. After Shun had come to the throne, and was flying the Imperial flag, he went to pay a visit to his father, Gusou, and addressed him in a grave and respectful manner, as a son should do. He raised his brother Xiang to the rank of prince. Shun's son Shang-jun was also degenerate, so that Shun, being prepared, recommended Yu to the notice of Heaven, and seventeen years later he died. When the three years' mourning was over, Yu also yielded to Shun's son just as Shun had yielded to Yao's son, but the princes gave their allegiance to Yu, and he thereupon came to the Imperial throne. Yao's son Danzhu, and Shun's son Shangjun, both held territory so that they might be enabled to perform sacrifices to their ancestors; they paid the due observances, such as religious ceremonies and music, and they went to the audiences as the Emperor's guests. The Emperor did not dare, without due notification from his ministers, to act on his own responsibility.

27. From Huangdi to Shun and Yu all the sovereigns had the same surname, but different dynastic appellations, and so displayed their illustrious virtue. So Huangdi was called Youxiong (possessor of bears); Emperor Zhuanxu was Gaoyang; Emperor Ku was Gaoxin; Emperor Yao, Taotang; Emperor Shun was Youyu (possessor of foresters); and Emperor Yu was Xiahou (prince of Xia); and he had also the name Si (sister-in-law); Xie had the family name of Shang with the personal name Zi (son); and Qi had the family name Zhou with the personal name Ji (queen).

28. The historian remarks on this as follows: Most scholars say that the five emperors are deserving of honour, but the Book of History only refers to Yao, and those who come after him, while the book of the 'hundred families' speaks of the Yellow emperor. The style of the latter work is not, however, very refined, and the officials and gentry hardly ever refer to it. Confucius handed down these works, viz. 'Zai Yu's Questions,' the 'Virtues of the Five Emperors,' and 'the Genealogies and Names of the Emperors,' but the literati doubt that they have been so handed down. I have travelled westward as far as 'hollow cave' hill, northward beyond Zhuolu, eastward I have crossed the sea, while southward I have floated on rafts along the Yangtze and Huai rivers, and all the elders whom I met again and again talked of the places where the Yellow emperor, Yao, and Shun dwelt, and how very different their customs and teachings were. In short, those who are attached to the ancient literature must be familiar with their sayings. I have looked at the 'Spring and Autumn' classic, and the 'Narratives of the States,' which make the 'Virtues of the Five Emperors' and the 'Genealogies and Names of the Emperors' very clear. I have inspected these works, but not thoroughly examined them, and the portions I have quoted are none of them unimportant. There are defects in the book, and occasionally the views of others may be noted. Scholars should not think too deeply over the book, but take the general drift of it, when it can hardly be called superficial. There are a few investigations into doctrine, which I have discussed in the concrete, and then selected some of the more elegant sentences for quotation. Thus I have compiled the first chapter of the 'Original Records.'

End

Annals of the Xia
夏本紀

Shiji 2

1. Yu of Xia was styled Wenming. Yu's father was Gun, whose father was the Emperor Zhuanxu, whose father was Changyi, whose father was Huangdi; so Yu was Huangdi's great-great-grandson, and Zhuanxu's grandson. Yu's great-grandfather Changyi and his father Gun were both unable to sit on the Imperial throne, being simply officials.

2. In the time of the Emperor Yao the deluge assailed the heavens, and in its vast expanse encompassed the mountains, and overtopped the hills, so that the common people were troubled about it. Yao sought for one capable of controlling the waters. All the officials and presidents of the four mountains said, 'Gun might do it.' Yao said, 'Gun is a man who disobeys orders, and ruins his companions. He will not do.' The president of the four mountains said, 'Among his equals there is no one so worthy as Gun; I wish your Majesty would try him.' Upon which Yao, giving heed to the president of the four mountains, employed Gun to control the waters for nine years, but the waters did not abate, and the work was unaccomplished. Then the Emperor Yao sought a man in his stead, and secured Shun. Shun being employed in the public service was associated with the Son of Heaven in the administration. While on a tour of inspection, he saw that there was no evidence that Gun kept the waters under control, so he imprisoned him for life on Mount Yu, and everyone in the Empire said that Shun's decision was a just one. Shun then appointed Gun's son Yu to the post, and directed him to continue his father's occupation.

3. After Yao's death, the Emperor Shun asked the presidents of the four mountains, 'is there was any one who can perfect and develop Yao's undertakings, and can be employed in an official capacity?' They all said, 'There is lord Yu, the Minister of Works; he might perfect and develop Yao's labours.' Shun said, 'Ah yes! you, Yu, have regulated the water and the land, but in this office you must exert yourself.' Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and would have declined in favour of Xie, Prince Millet, or Gaoyao, but Shun said 'Go and attend to your duties.'

4. Yu was quick, earnest, and diligent, not deviating from virtue, kind, and lovable; his word could be depended on, his voice was musical, and his body, like a balance properly adjusted, moved unweariedly and solemnly in accordance with certain fixed rules.

5. Yu, then in company with Yi and Prince Millet, having received the Emperor's orders, bade the princes and people raise a gang of men to make a division of the land, and following the line of the hills hew down the trees, and determine the characteristics of the high hills and great rivers. Yu was grieved in that his progenitor Gun had been punished on account of his work being incomplete, so, wearied in body and distressed in mind, he lived away from his home for 13 years, passing the door of his house without daring to enter. With ragged clothes and poor diet he paid his devotions to the spirits until his wretched hovel fell in ruins in the ditch. When travelling along the dry land he used a carriage, on the water he used a boat, in miry places a sledge, while in going over the hills he used

spikes. On the one hand he used the marking-line, and on the other the compass and square. Working as the seasons permitted, and with a view to open up the nine provinces, he made the roads communicable, banked up the marshes, surveyed the hills, told Yi and his band that paddy should be planted in low damp places, and directed Lord Millet and his band, when it was difficult to obtain food, or when food was scarce, to barter their surplus stock in exchange for what they had not, so as to put all the princes on an equal footing. Yu in this way worked for the mutual convenience of the respective districts as regards the distribution of the wealth and resources of the country.

6. Yu started from Jizhou. He commenced his work in Jizhou at Pot's mouth, and regulated the country about the Liang and Qi mountains. Having repaired the works at Taiyuan he went to the south of Mount Yue. He was successful with his labours at Tanhuai, and went to the cross-flowing stream of Zhang. The soil of the province was white clay. Its contribution of revenue was the first of the highest class with some admixture of the second, while its fields were the average of the middle class. The Chang and Wei rivers flowed in their proper channels, and the Dalu plain was formed. The bird barbarians, wearing skin dresses, kept close on the right to the granite rocks until they came to the sea.

7. The Qi and Yellow rivers formed the boundaries of Yanzhou. The nine branches of the Yellow river followed their courses, and Lei Xia was a marsh, in which the Yong and Ju streams were united. The mulberry region was supplied with silkworms, and then the people came down from the heights and occupied it. The soil of the province was black loam, its herbage luxuriant, and trees tall. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount, and after it had been worked for 13 years it was assimilated to the other provinces. Its tribute consisted of varnish and silk, and woven ornamental fabrics in baskets. You float along the Qi and Ta and so reach the Yellow river.

8. The sea and the Tai mountain formed the boundaries of Qingzhou. The territory of Yuyi was defined, and the Wei and Zi rivers flowed in their proper channels. The soil of the province was white loam, and on the sea-coast were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields, which were impregnated with salt, were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its tribute consisted of salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and productions of the sea of various kinds, with silk, hemp, lead, pine-trees, and strange stones from the valleys of the Tai. The wild tribes of Lai were shepherds, and brought in their baskets silk from the mountain mulberry. You float down the Wen, and so reach the Qi.

9. The sea, the Tai mountain, and the river Huai formed the boundaries of Xuzhou. The Huai and Yi rivers were regulated. The Meng and Yu mountains were made fit for cultivation. The waters of Daye formed a marsh, and the eastern plain became level. The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. The grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its tribute consisted of earth of different colours, the variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yu, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the floating musical stones from the banks of the Si. The wild tribes of the Huai brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets were full of dark embroideries and pure white silken fabrics. You float along the Huai and Si and so reach the Yellow river.

10. The Huai river and the sea formed the boundaries of Yangzhou. The Pengli lake formed a reservoir of water, where the sun birds (i.e. the wild geese) settled. The three large rivers entered the sea, and the shaking marsh became quite still. Bamboos of different kinds were spread about, the

grass grew luxuriantly, and the trees tall, but the soil was miry. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its tribute consisted of gold, silver, and copper, jasper, pearls, bamboos of various kinds, ivory, hides, feathers, and hair. The wild people of the isles brought garments of grass; their baskets were filled with woven silks and cowries, and their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, which were rendered when required. You follow the course of the Great river and the sea, and so reach the Huai and Si rivers.

11. Mount Jing and the south of Mount Heng formed the boundaries of Jingzhou. The Great river and Han rivers paid their court to the sea. The nine rivers occupied all the middle of the land. The Tuo and Qian rivers flowed in their proper channels; and the land in the Yun and Meng marshes was made capable of cultivation. The soil of this province was miry; its fields were the average of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its tribute consisted of feathers, hair, ivory, hides, gold, silver, copper, woods of the wild varnish, cudrania, triloba, juniper, and cypress trees, with grindstones, whetstones, stone arrowheads, and cinnabar, likewise the Jun and Lu bamboos, and the wood of the redthorn, of which the three states brought the most noted specimens. The three ribbed rush was put in cases which were wrapped up, while the baskets were filled with dark and purple silks and strings of coarse pearls. From the country of the nine rivers the great tortoise was presented. You float down the Great river, the Tuo, the Qian, and the Han rivers, cross over to the Luo, whence you reach the southern part of the Yellow river.

12. The Jing mountain and the Yellow river formed the boundaries of Yuzhou. The Yi, the Luo the Chan, and the Jian streams flowed into the Yellow river, the Yingbo waters formed a lake, and the waters of the Ke marsh were conducted to the Ming reservoir. The soil of this province was clayey, while in its lower parts it was rich, and in clods. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. The tribute was varnish, silk, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and sackcloth. The baskets were filled with delicate embroidery and floss-silk, and stones for polishing musical stones were rendered when required. You float along the Luo until you reach the Yellow river.

13. The south of Mount Hua and the Blackwater formed the boundaries of Liangzhou. The Min and Bo hills were cultivated. The Tuo and Qian rivers flowed in their channels, sacrifices were offered to the hills Cai and Meng on the plateaux, and the wild tribes on the He river were successfully managed. The soil of the province was bluish black. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates above and below. Its tribute consisted of the best gold, iron, silver, steel, stone arrow-heads, musical stones, and nets woven from the hair of bears and foxes. From Xiqing you come along the river Huan, float down the Qian, cross over to the Mian, enter the Wei, and ferry across the Yellow river.

14. The Blackwater and the western bend of the Yellow river formed the boundaries of Yongzhou. The Ruo water flowed westward; the Qing, the Qi, and Ju streams formed a junction with the Wei, as also did the waters of the Feng. The Jing and Qi hills were sacrificed too, and so were those of Zhongnan and Dunwu all the way to 'Bird-and-Rat' hill. Successful measures were taken with the plains and swamps as far as the Duye marsh. The people of Sanwei were controlled, and the Sanmiao tribes kept in good order. The soil of the province was yellow clay. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, while its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the second. Its tribute was jade, topazes, and white cornelian stones. From 'Stonepile' hill you float on to 'Dragongate' on

the western branch of the Yellow river at its junction with the Wei river. The western Jung tribes from the Gunlun, Hsichih, and Chüsou mountains with their hair-cloth and furs were kept in order.

15. Journeying over the nine mountains, you go from Qian and Qi hills to mount Jing; passing the Yellow river, Pot's mouth, and Leishou you come to Taiyue; from Dizhu and Xicheng hills to 'King's house'; from Taihang and Mount Chang to the granite rocks and the sea; from Xiqing, Zhuyu, and 'Bird-and-Rat' hills to mount Taihua; from 'Bear's-ear,' Waifang, and Tongbo hills to Fuwei; you journey from Bozhong to mount Jing; from Neifang to Dabie, and from the south of Mount Min to Mount Heng, and cross the nine rivers to the Fuqian plain.

16. Following the course of the nine large rivers: from the Ruo river you go to Heli, whence the superfluous water flows into the Rolling sands. You trace the Blackwater to Sanwei, where it enters the southern sea; you trace the Yellow river from 'Stone-pile' to 'Dragongate,' southward to the north of Mount Hua, eastward to Dizhu, again eastward to the ford Meng, eastward you pass the junction of the Luo river to Dapei, northward past the Jiang water to Dalu, northward the stream is divided and becomes the nine rivers, reunited it forms the opposing river and flows into the sea. From Bozhong you trace the course of the Yang. Flowing eastward it becomes the Han, further east it becomes the Canglang water, passing the three dykes it goes to Dabie, southward it enters the great river, eastward whirling on it forms the Pengli marsh, again eastward it forms the northern great river and enters the sea. From mount Min you trace the great river, which branching to the east becomes the Tuo, again eastward it comes to the Li, passes the nine great rivers and comes to the eastern ridge, flows eastward, winds to the north, and joins the eddies, eastward it becomes the middle great river and enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Yan river—it flows to the east, becomes the Qi, enters the Yellow river, flows on and becomes the Ying; eastward it comes out to the north of Taoqiu, further east flows into the Ke marsh, again north-eastward it unites with the Wen, and still further to the north-east it enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Huai from Tongbo, to the eastward it unites with the Si and Yi rivers, and flowing to the east enters the sea. Tracing the course of the Wei from 'Bird-and-rat-in-the-same-hole' hill—it unites to the east with the Feng, further to the north-east it flows into the Jing, to the east passing the Qi and Ju streams it enters the Yellow river. Tracing the course of the Luo from 'Bear's-ear' hill, on the north-east it unites with the Jian and Chan, further to the east it unites with the Yi, and to the north-east enters the Yellow river.

17. So throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected: the four coasts were built over, the hills were cleared of their wood and sacrificed to, the streams had their sources scoured out, the marshes were well banked, and all within the four seas had access to the capital. The six treasuries of nature were made the most of, and the various parts of the country exactly compared so that the receipt of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The three characters of the soil were classified, and the taxation fixed. The central government conferred lands and surnames. Revenue was paid to the Emperor's exalted virtue, which was set up as an example, and none opposed his Majesty's action.

18. Now beyond the Emperor's capital 500 li constituted the Imperial domain. From the first hundred li they brought, as revenue, the whole plant of the grain, from the second the ears, from the third the straw, but the people had to perform feudal services, from the fourth the grain in the husk, and from the fifth the grain cleaned. Five hundred li beyond the Imperial domain constituted the domain of the nobles. The first hundred li formed the allotments to the feudal nobles, the second hundred those to the people employed by the State, and the other 300 those to the various princes. Five hundred li beyond the nobles' domain lay the peaceful domain. In the first 300 li they cultivated

learning and the moral duties, and in the other 200 their energies lay in the direction of war and defence. Five hundred li beyond the peaceful domain was the domain of restraint. The first 300 were occupied by the Yi tribes, and the other 200 by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment. Five hundred li beyond the domain of restraint lay the wild domain. Three hundred li were occupied by the Man tribes, and the other 200 li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

19. On the east reaching to the sea, on the west extending to the rolling sands, to the utmost limits of the north and south, Yu's fame and influence spread everywhere within the four seas, so the Emperor presented him with a dark-coloured sceptre, thus announcing to the empire the completion of his work. The empire was at peace and well governed.

20. Gaoyao was made chief minister of state with a view to his ruling the people. The emperor Shun gave audience to Yu, Poyi, and Gaoyao, who addressed each other before the Emperor. Gaoyao, setting forth his counsels, said, 'If a man sincerely follows the path of duty and virtue, his counsellors will be intelligent, and those who aid him will act in harmony.' Yu said, 'Yes, but what do you mean?' Gaoyao said, 'Oh! he will be careful about his personal cultivation, and will think constantly about it. Thus he will pay due regard to precedence among the nine branches of his kindred, all the intelligent will exert themselves in his service, and so from what is at hand he may attain to what is far off.' Yu made obeisance at these excellent words, and said, 'It is so.' Gaoyao said 'Oh! It all lies in knowing mankind, and in quieting the people.' Yu said, 'Alas! to attain to all this would be difficult even for the Emperor. He who knows men is wise; he who can put men into the posts for which they are fit, and can quiet the people, is benevolent, and the black-haired race will cherish him in their hearts. When a man can be thus wise and kind, why should he have anxiety about a Huandou? why to be removing a chief of the Miao tribes? why should he fear a man of specious words, good appearance, and artful ways?' Gaoyao said, 'Just so! there are in all nine virtues, and when we say that a man possesses these virtues it is as much as to say that he begins to do such and such things. They are liberality combined with dignity, mildness combined with firmness, bluntness combined with respect, aptness for government combined with caution, docility combined with boldness, straightforwardness combined with gentleness, easy negligence combined with discrimination, resolution combined with sincerity, and courage combined with justice. If these are apparent, and that continuously, how fortunate it will be. He who daily displays three of these virtues could early and late support and educate a family. He who is strict and reverent in cultivating six of these virtues could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the State. When such men are received and found everywhere, the possessors of those nine virtues will all be employed, and men of eminence will hold office, and the various officers will be respectful and diligent, not teaching heretical, vicious, or strange doctrines. If such men and such officers do not exist it may be said that the affairs of Heaven are in confusion. Heaven punishes the guilty, and the five punishments can be severally applied for that purpose. Are my words sound, and can they be put in force?' Yu said, 'Your words are perfect, and can be successfully put in force.' Gaoyao said, 'As to that I do not know, but I aim at assisting in the path of duty.'

21. The Emperor Shun said to Yu, 'Will you, too, make a brilliant speech?' Yu did obeisance and said, 'Ah! what can I say? I aim at being assiduous from day to day.' Gaoyao, teasing Yu, said, 'What do you mean by being assiduous?' Yu said, 'When the flood assailed the heavens, and in its vast expanse encompassed the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that the common people were overcome by the water, I travelled on dry land in a carriage, went about on the water in a boat, in miry places I used a sledge, while in going over the hills I used spikes. All along the hills I hewed paths through the woods, and together with Yi supplied the people with paddy and fresh meat. In

order to drain the nine streams into the four seas, I deepened the channels and canals, and connected them with the rivers, and together with 'Millet' and the people in general when it was difficult to obtain food, and when food was scarce I bartered the surplus stock to make up for deficiencies, and removed the stores. Thus the people were quieted, and the various states properly governed.' Gaoyao said, 'Yes! this was good on your part.'

22. Yu said, 'Ah! your Majesty, carefully maintain the Throne which you occupy, and be quiet in your behaviour, assist virtue, and the nation will grandly respond to your pure desires. It will thus be manifest that you await the decrees of the Supreme Being, and will not Heaven renew its favouring appointment by conferring blessings on you?' The Emperor said, 'Dear me! ministers! ministers! you constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. If I wish to aid and support the people, you help me to do so. If I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients — the sun, moon, and stars — which are embroidered on the robes and coloured silks, you see them clearly for me. If I wish to hear the six pitchpipes, the five notes, and the eight musical instruments on the adjustment of which depend good government or misrule, and the consequent rise or decline of the five duties, you hear them for me. If I do wrong, you have to correct me. Do not flatter me to my face and speak evil of me behind my back. Be reverent, ye four ministers, and all ye calumniating minions of officials. If the prince's virtue is honestly displayed all men will be pure.' Yu said, 'Yes! should your Majesty not act thus, but equally employ the good and bad, you will gain no credit.'

23. The Emperor said, 'Do not be arrogant like Zhu of Dan, who took his pleasure only in idleness and dissipation. He would make boats go where there was no water, introduced licentious friends into his family, and thereby cut off the hereditary honours of his house. I could not follow that line of conduct.' Yu said, 'I was married at Tushan on the days xin and ren, and on the days gui and jia my son Qi was born. I did not treat him as a son, and therefore was able to complete my labours on the water and on land. I assisted, in completing the five Tenures, extending over 5000 li. In the provinces I appointed twelve tutors, and in the regions beyond to the four seas I established five presidents. These all did their duty, and achieved great results, but the Miao tribes were obstinate, and refused to do their work. Think of this, your Majesty.' The Emperor said, 'That my virtue is the guide is the result of your orderly arrangements.'

24. Gaoyao therefore, respecting Yu's virtues, bade the people carry out as a rule his plan of preferring admonition, but also made use of punishments. Shun's virtues were very clear.

25. Kui played some music; the spirits of Imperial ancestors, and hosts of nobles gave place to one another, and even birds and beasts wheeled about and danced. When the nine airs of Shun's music were played, the phoenixes came and put themselves in attitudes, the different beasts led each other on to dance, and the various officials were really in harmony. The Emperor upon this composed the following ode, 'Being set on high by the favouring appointment of Heaven, we must be careful at every moment, and in every particular.' He then sang as follows, 'When the members are happy, the head is exalted, and the various kinds of work are happily performed.' Gaoyao did obeisance with his head to his hands, and then to the ground, and with a loud voice said, 'Oh! think. It is yours to lead on and originate affairs. Pay careful attention to your laws. Be cautious.' He continued his song, saying, 'When the head is intelligent, the members are good, and all business will prosper.' Shun again sang as follows, 'When the head is vexatious, the members are idle, and all business is ruined.' The Emperor bowed and said, 'Yes, go and be reverent!' The whole nation upon this applauded Yu's brilliant musical performance, and the divine lord of hills and streams.

26. The Emperor Shun presented Yu to Heaven as his heir, and 17 years afterwards the Emperor Shun died. The three years' mourning being over, Yu retired before Shun's son Shangjun to the town of Yang, but the princes of the empire all left Shangjun, and went to Yu's court, and Yu accordingly occupied the Imperial throne. Facing the south he gave audience to the nation. His dynastic appellation was (Xia hou) Prince of Xia, and his surname Si.

27. The Emperor Yu sat on the throne and recommended Gaoyao for promotion, transferring also the administration of affairs to him, but Gaoyao died, and his descendants were enfeoffed with the principalities of Yingliu and Xu. The prince then recommended Yi for the appointment of administrator of affairs.

28. Ten years elapsed, when the Emperor Yu, having gone to the east on a tour of inspection, died at Guiji, and the rule of the empire was given to Yi. When the three years' mourning was over, Yi resigned in favour of Yu's son Qi, and retired to the south of Mount Ji. Yu's son Qi was worthy, and the nation fixed its desires upon him, but when Yu died, although the rule was given to Yi, he supported Yu but a few days, when the nation not being content the princes all left Yi, and went to Qi's court saying, 'He is the son of our sovereign' emperor Yu. Qi then succeeded to the Imperial throne, and became Emperor Qi, the Prince of Xia.

29. The Prince of Xia, Emperor Qi, was the son of Yu, his mother being the daughter of the lord of Tushan.

30. As the lord of Hu would not submit, Qi attacked him, and there was a great battle at Han. Just before the engagement the speech at Gan was delivered to the six generals, who were summoned together; Qi said, 'Ah! ye who are engaged in my six armies, I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The chief of Hu violently sets at naught the five human relations, and idly casts aside the three obligations of duty. Heaven will on this account oppose him and cut off the span of his life, and I am now but reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven. If you on the left do not do your work on the left, and you on the right do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders shall be rewarded in the ancestral temple, but you who disobey my orders shall be slain before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will destroy both you and your children. He thereupon destroyed the chief of Hu, and the whole nation went to the court of the Prince of Xia.

31. Emperor Qi died, and his son Emperor Taikang (Kang the first) came to the throne. The Emperor Taikang lost his kingdom; his five brothers waited for him on the north of the Luo river, and composed the song of the five sons.

32. Kang the first died, and his brother Kang the second came to the throne, that is the Emperor Kang the second. In the time of the Emperor Kang the second, Xi and He, indulging in wine and dissipation, neglected the seasons, and let the calendar get into confusion. Yin went to punish them, and the 'Punitive Expedition of Yin' was composed.

33. Kang the second died, and his son Emperor Xiang came to the throne. Emperor Xiang died, and his Son Kang the third came to the throne. Emperor Kang the third died, and his son Emperor Chu came to the throne. Emperor Chu died, and his son Emperor Huai came the throne. Emperor Huai died, and his Son Emperor Mang came to the throne. Emperor Mang died, and his Son Emperor Xie came to the throne. Emperor Xie died, and his son Emperor Bujiang came to the throne. Emperor

Bujiang died, and his brother Emperor Jiong came to the throne. Emperor Jiong died, and his Son Emperor Jin came to the throne. Emperor Jin died, and Emperor Bujiang's son Kongjia, that is Emperor Kongjia, came to the throne. Emperor Kongjia was fond of enquiring into spiritual matters, and indulged in dissipation, and the virtue of the princes of Xia having degenerated, the chiefs rebelled. Heaven sent down two dragons, a male and a female. Kongjia could not feed them, and could not obtain a dragon-keeper. After the decline of Taotang (Yao) one of his descendants, Liu Lei, learnt to train dragons, and he was chosen out of the dragon-keepers to wait on Kongjia, who gave him the title of dragon-tamer, which was inherited by the descendants of the Shiwei. The female dragon died, and he served it up as a meal for the Prince of Xia, but the latter having sent some one to look for it, he became frightened and ran away.

34. Kongjia died, and his son Emperor Gao came to the throne. Emperor Gao died, and his son Emperor Fa came to the throne. Emperor Fa died, and his son Emperor Lu Gui, that is Jie, came to the throne. Regarding the reign of the Emperor Jie, ever since the time of Kongjia the barons had frequently rebelled. Jie of Xia did not strive after virtue, and the wars injured the people. Unable to endure their wrongs they summoned Tang to their aid, but he was imprisoned in the tower of Xia; being afterwards released. Tang cultivated virtue, and the princes all went over to him, so Tang led an army to attack Jie of Xia. Jie fled to Mingtiao, and was eventually driven out and slain. Jie observed to someone, 'I regret that I did not take the opportunity of killing Tang in the tower of Xia, and then I should not have been brought to such a pass.' Tang, being seated on the Imperial throne, superseded Xia, and gave audience to the people. Tang enfeoffed the descendants of the Xias. Until the time of the Zhou dynasty they held the principality of Qi.

35. Grand Historian said: Yu belonged to the Si surname. Afterward, his descendants were enfeoffed and adopted their fiefdoms as surnames; thus there arose the Xiahou clan, You Hu clan, Nan clan, Zhen Xun clan, Tongcheng clan, Bao clan, Fei clan, Qi clan, Zeng clan, Xin clan, Ming clan, and Zhen (clan) Ge clan. Confucius corrected the Xia calendar; many scholars passed down "Xia Xiao Zheng" as a record of it. Since the time of Yu and Xia, tribute and taxation systems were already well established. Some say that Yu convened feudal lords in southern Jiang, where he died after completing his achievements and was buried there; the place was named Kuaiji. Kuaiji means "accounting" or "reckoning."

End

Annals of Yin
殷本紀

Shiji 3

1. Qi of Yin's mother was Jian Di, who was one of the daughters of Yousong and the secondary wife of Emperor Ku. She was going with her two sisters to bathe, when she saw a dark bird drop its egg. Jian Di picked it up, and swallowed it, and thus being with child gave birth to Qi. When Qi grew up, he was succeseful in assisting Yu to control the flood, and the Emperor Shun, directing Qi, said: The people are wanting in affection for one another, and do not observe the five orders of relationship. You, as Minister of Instruction, should reverently inculcate the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders, but do so with gentleness. He held in fief the principality of Shang, and was given the surname of Zi (son). Qi flourished in the reigns of Yao, Shun, and the great Yu. His services were manifest to the people, who were accordingly at peace.

2. Qi (documents) died, and his son Zhaoming (luminous) succeeded him. Zhaoming died, and his son Xiangtu (view land) succeeded him. Xiangtu died, and his son Chang Ruo (bright-like) succeeded him. Chang Ruo died, and his son Cao Yu (cattle-pens) succeeded him. Zao Yu died, and his son Ming (obscure) succeeded him. Ming died, and his son Zhen (shake) succeeded him. Zhen died, and his son Wei (diminutive) succeeded him. Wei died, and his son Baoding (report D) succeeded him. Baoding died, and his son Baoyi (report B) succeeded him. Baoyi died, and his son Baobing (report C) succeeded him. Baobing died, and his son Zhuren (lord I) succeeded him. Zhuren died, and his son Zhu gui (lord J) succeeded him. Zhu Gui died, and his son Tian Yi (Heaven B) or Tang the Completer succeeded him.

3. From Qi to Tang the Completer there were eight changes of the capital. Tang at first dwelt in Bo, choosing the residence of the first king, and the 'Emperor's Announcement' was written.

4. When Tang made an expedition against the princes, the chief of Ge was not offering the proper sacrifices, and Tang began by punishing him. Tang said: 'I observe that if a man looks at the water he sees his reflection; if he seeks to make an impression on the people, should he not know how to govern?' Yiyin said: 'That is clear! If you say that you will listen to reason you may offer yourself as ruler of the State. Whether the people do right or not depends entirely on the king and his ministers. Rouse yourself to action!' Tang said: 'If you cannot respect my commands, I will inflict upon you the extreme penalty death. You will not obtain forgiveness.' 'The Punitive Expedition of Tang' was written.

5. Yiyin's name was A-Heng. A-Heng wanted to meet Tang, but had no opportunity of doing so; he therefore became cook to the prince of Xin, and while bringing Tang dishes to taste urged him to perfect himself in the way of the ancient kings. Some say that when Yiyin was living in retirement Tang sent five times to invite him to a meeting before he would obey him, and talk about matters connected with the guileless king and the nine rulers. Tang promoted Ren to the administration of

affairs. Yiyin went from Tang to Xia. Being indignant with the sovereign of Xia, he returned to Bo, and as he entered by the north gate met Rujiu and Rufang, and the 'Rujiu' and 'Rufang' were written.

6. Tang went out and saw a rustic, who was spreading nets in every direction, and vowing that every bird in the sky should go into his net. Tang said, 'What! all?' Then, taking away the nets on three sides, he vowed that those which wanted to go to the left should go left, and those which wanted to go right should go right, and that only those which were the victims of fate should be caught in the net. The princes, hearing of it, said, 'Tang's kindness is extreme, and extends even to birds and beasts.'

7. At this time Jie of Xia was oppressive, and his rule dissipated, and one of the princes Kunwu rebelled, so Tang, levying an army, put himself at the head of the princes. Yiyin followed Tang, who, grasping a halberd, marched against Kunwu, and then attacked Jie. Tang said: Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen ye all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to raise a rebellion. The ruler of Xia has committed many crimes. I have indeed heard the words of you all, but the Xia ruler is an offender, and, as I fear the Supreme god, I dare not but punish him. Now, as the Xia ruler has committed many crimes, Heaven has charged me to destroy him. Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our sovereign does not compassionate us; he disregards our husbandry, and his government is a cruel one.' You say, 'As to his crimes, what remedy have we?' The king of Xia does nothing but exhaust his people's strength, and treat the kingdom of Xia oppressively. His people have all become idle, and are not in harmony with him, saying, 'When will this sun set? We shall all perish together.' Such being the conduct of the sovereign of Xia, I must advance. If you help me, the one man, to carry out the punishment decreed by Heaven, and I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me. I will not retract my words. If you do not carry out the words of my speech, I will put you and your children to death; you shall not be pardoned. This being announced to the army, the 'Speech of Tang' was written. Tang then said, 'I am very warlike'; and he was styled the 'warlike king.'

8. Jie was defeated in the wilds of Yousong, and fled to Mingtiao. The army of Xia being entirely defeated, Tang smote Sanzong, where he captured the precious jewels. Yibo and Zhongbo wrote the 'Statutes and Jewels.' When Tang had conquered Xia, he wished to remove the altars to the spirits of the land, but was unable to do so, and the 'Altar of Xia' was written. Yiyin made a report, and the princes being satisfied, Tang ascended the Imperial throne, and tranquillized the country within the four seas.

9. When Tang returned he came to Taijuantao, and Zhonglei wrote his announcement. Having made an end of the sovereignty of Xia, Tang returned to Bo and wrote the 'Announcement of Tang.' In the third month the king came himself to the eastern suburb and made the following announcement to the princes and nobles: 'If you do not perform meritorious service for the people and be diligent in your business, I shall inflict the extreme punishment of death. Do not murmur against me.' He also said: 'Formerly Yu and Gaoyao laboured long in distant regions. They performed meritorious service for the people, who dwelt in peace. On the east there was the Great river, on the north the Ji, on the west the Yellow river, and on the south the Huai. These four streams were kept within bounds, and the people dwelt in safety. Prince Millet told them how to sow and cultivate the various kinds of grain. These three chiefs all performed meritorious service for the people, and were therefore ennobled. Formerly Chiyou and his officers raised a rebellion among the people but the [Yellow] Emperor disapproved, and his crimes were exposed. The words of the former kings cannot but rouse you to action. If you are unprincipled you shall not rule in the State. 'Do not murmur against me.'

Thus he directed the princes. Yiyin wrote the book 'Both Possessed Pure Virtue,' and Jiudan wrote the 'Illustrious Abode.'

10. Tang altered the day of the New Year, and changed the colour of the dresses, white being uniformly worn at State functions.

11. After the demise of Tang his eldest son, Taiding (Great D), died before he could come to the throne; and so Taiding's younger brother Waibing (Outer C), that is Emperor Waibing, came to the throne. Emperor Waibing reigned three years, and died, and his brother Zhongren (Middle I), that is Emperor Zhongren, came to the throne. Emperor Zhongren reigned four years, and died. Yiyin then set Taiding's son, Taijia (Great A), on the throne. He was Tang the Completer's eldest legitimate grandson. This was Emperor Taijia. In the first year of Emperor Taijia, Yiyin wrote the 'Instructions of Yi,' the 'Declaration of the Appointment of Heaven,' and the 'Deceased Sovereign.'

12. After Emperor Taijia had been on the throne three years, he proved unintelligent and cruel. He did not obey Tang's laws, and his conduct was disorderly, so Yiyin placed him in the Dryandra (palace). For three years Yiyin administered the government, and as ruler of the State gave audience to the nobles.

13. After the Emperor Taijia had dwelt in the Dryandra palace for three years, he repented of his errors, blamed himself, and amended his ways. Whereupon Yiyin met the Emperor Taijia and resigned to him the reins of government. Emperor Taijia became virtuous, the princes all returned to the Yin capital, and the people were tranquil. Yiyin praised him, and wrote the 'Instructions to Taijia' in three books. Commending Emperor Taijia, he honoured him with the title of 'Great Master.'

14. 'Great Master' died, and his son Woding (Glossy D) came to the throne. In Emperor Woding's reign, Yiyin died. When they had buried Yiyin at Bo, Jiu Dan set forth as lessons the doings of Yiyin; and the 'Woding' was written.

15. Woding died, and his brother Taigeng (Great G), that is Emperor Taigeng, came to the throne. Emperor Taigeng died, and his son Emperor Xiaojia (Little A) came to the throne. Emperor Xiaojia died, and his brother Yongji (Harmonious F), that is Emperor Yongji, came to the throne. The influence of the Yin dynasty beginning to decline, the princes occasionally neglected to come to court.

16. Emperor Yongji died, and his brother Taiwu (Great E), that is Emperor Taiwu, came to the throne. In his reign Yizhi became prime minister, when there were omens in Bo, for a mulberry tree and a stalk of grain grew up together in the court. They attained full size in one evening, and Emperor Taiwu, being alarmed, questioned Yizhi on the subject. Yizhi said: 'I, your servant, have heard that virtue is not overcome by evil omens. There may be defects in your Majesty's government, but let your Majesty cultivate virtue.' Taiwu followed his advice, and the ominous mulberry withered away. Yizhi consulted with Xian the wizard, who governed the king's household admirably, and wrote the 'Xian-ai' and the 'Taiwu.' Emperor Taiwu spoke on the subject with Yizhi in court, and said he was disloyal. Yizhi gave up his post, and wrote the 'Original Commands.' Yin prospered again, and the princes gave their allegiance to the Emperor, who was called Middle Master.

17. Middle Master died, and his son Emperor Zhongding (Middle D) came to the throne. Emperor Zhongding removed to Ao. Hedanjia lived in Xiang. Zuyi removed to Geng. Emperor Zhongding

died, and his brother Wairen (Outer I), that is Emperor Wairen, came to the throne. The omissions in the book 'Zhongding' were not supplied. Emperor Wairen died, and his brother Hedanjia (River Truth A), that is Emperor Hedanjia, came to the throne. In his time the influence of Yin again began to wane.

18. Hedanjia died, and his son Emperor Zuyi (Ancestor B) came to the throne. In Emperor Zuyi's time Yin again prospered, and the wizard Xian held office.

19. Zuyi died, and his son Emperor Zuxin (Ancestor H) came to the throne. Emperor Zuxin died, and his brother Wojia (Glossy A), i.e. Emperor Wojia, came to the throne. Emperor Wojia died, and Zuding (Ancestor D), that is Emperor Zuding, who was Wojia's elder brother, was put on the throne. Emperor Zuding died, and his brother Wojia's son, Nangeng (South G), that is Emperor Nangeng, was put on the throne. Emperor Nangeng died, and Emperor Zuding's son Yangjia (Male A), that is Emperor Yangjia, was put on the throne. In his reign the power of the Yins declined.

20. Ever since the reign of Zhongding the legitimate heir had been set aside, and junior scions put on the throne instead. These used to fight and displace each other. For the last nine generations there had been anarchy, and the princes neglected to come to court.

21. Emperor Yangjia died, and his brother Pangeng (Plate G), that is Emperor Pangeng, came to the throne. In his reign the Yins had their capital on the north of the Yellow river, but Pangeng crossed to the south of the river, and reoccupied the old palace of Tang the Completer. This made the fifth change of capital, and, as they had no fixed place of abode, the people of Yin murmured and repined, for they did not like moving about. Pangeng made the following announcement to the princes and ministers: 'Formerly our exalted sovereign Tang the Completer, in conjunction with your ancestors, decided what laws and regulations of the empire should be attended to or set aside, but if you do not make an effort how can you attain perfection?' He then crossed over to the south of the river, set up his capital at Bo, and having adopted Tang's system of government, the people were thereby tranquillized, and the fortunes of Yin were again in the ascendant. The princes came to court, and were influenced by the virtues of Tang the Completer.

22. Emperor Pangeng died, and his brother Xiaoxin (Little H), that is Emperor Xiaoxin, came to the throne. In his reign the power of Yin was again on the wane. The people remembered Pangeng, and the 'Pangeng' in three parts was written. Emperor Xiaoxin died, and his brother Xiaoyi (Little B), that is Emperor Xiaoyi, came to the throne.

23. Emperor Xiaoyi died, and his son Emperor Wuding (Martial D) came to the throne. When Emperor Wuding was on the throne, he pondered how the Yin dynasty could be revivified, but as he had not obtained an assistant he did not speak for three years, government affairs having to be conducted by the prime minister, who examined into the customs of the country. Wuding dreamed one night that he had found a holy man named Yue, and, in order that he might secure the man he had seen in his dream, he passed under review his officers and ministers of State, but not one of them was the right man. He then made all his officers search for him in the wilds, and Yue was discovered at the crag of Fu. At this time Yue was a clerk, not a builder at the crag of Fu. He had an audience of Wuding, who said, 'That is the right man.' Having talked with him, and finding that he really was a holy man, Wuding promoted him to be his prime minister. The kingdom of Yin was well governed in consequence, and he was named after the crag of Fu, being called Fu Yue.

24. Wuding was sacrificing to Tang the Completer the next day, when a pheasant flew up, lighted on the ear of a tripod, and crowed. Wuding was alarmed, but Zuji (Ancestor F) said the king should not be anxious; he must first rectify the administration of affairs. Zuji accordingly lectured the king, saying, 'In its superintendence over men below, Heaven pays special regard to their proper behaviour, and bestows on them accordingly length of years or the reverse. Heaven does not cut short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men may not have conformed to virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes; Heaven then charges them to correct their conduct, but they say, 'What shall we do?' Ah! the king should continuously treat the people with respect. Are they not Heaven's descendants? Be constant in sacrificing, and do not worship with the rites of a discarded religion.' Wuding instituted a government reform, and practised virtue. The whole nation rejoiced, and the fortunes of Yin again flourished.

25. Emperor Wuding died, and his son Emperor Zugeng (Ancestor G) came to the throne. Zuji commended Wuding for considering the omen of the pheasant as a ground for practising virtue, and conferred on him the posthumous title of 'exalted ancestor,' and the 'Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Gaozong' and the 'Instructions [to Gaozong]' were written.

26. Emperor Zugeng died, and his brother Zujia (Ancestor A), that is Emperor Jia, came to the throne. He was dissipated, and the fortunes of Yin again waned.

27. Emperor Jia died, and his son Emperor Linxin (Granary H) sat on the throne. Emperor Linxin died, and his brother Gengding (G. D), that is Emperor Gengding, sat on the throne. Emperor Gengding died, and his son Emperor Wuyi (Martial B) sat on the throne. The Yins again left Bo, and crossed to the north bank of the river.

28. The Emperor Wuyi was unprincipled and made images, which he called 'Heavenly gods.' With these he played chess, ordering some one to make the moves for them; and when the 'celestial gods' did not win he abused them, and making a leather bag, filled it with blood, threw it up and shot at it. This he called shooting at Heaven. While Wuyi was hunting between the Yellow and Wei rivers, there was a clap of thunder, and Wuyi was struck dead by lightning. His son Emperor Taiding (Great D) came to the throne. Emperor Taiding died, and his son Emperor Yi (B) sat on the throne. In his reign the fortunes of Yin declined still further.

29. Emperor Yi's (B) eldest son was Qi, viscount of Wei. Qi's mother being of low caste, he could not be heir to the throne. His younger son was Xin (X), whose mother was the principal consort, and so he became the heir-apparent. Emperor Yi died, and his son Xin sat on the throne. Emperor Xin was called by everybody in the empire Zhou (the tyrant).

30. Emperor Zhou's discrimination was acute, his hearing and sight particularly good, his natural abilities extraordinary, and his physical strength equal to that of a wild beast. He had cunning enough to evade reproofs, and volubility enough to gloss over his faults. He boasted that he was above his ministers on the ground of ability, and that he surpassed the people of the empire on account of his reputation. He indulged in wine, women, and lusts of all sorts. His partiality for Taji (Actress F) caused him to carry out whatever she desired, so that his ministers had to devise new forms of dissipation, the most depraved dances and extravagant music; he increased the taxation in order to fill the Stag tower with money, and to store the granary at 'Big bridge.' He made a collection of dogs, horses, and curiosities, with which he filled his palaces; and enlarging his parks and towers at Shaqiu, procured numbers of wild beasts and birds and put them therein. He slighted the spirits, assembled a great number of play actors at Shaqiu, made a pond of wine, hung the trees with meat,

made men and women chase each other about quite naked, and had drinking bouts the whole night long.

31. The people murmured, and when the nobles rebelled Zhouxin increased the severity of his punishments, instituting the punishment of roasting. He appointed Chang Chief of the West, the prince of Jiu, and the prince of E his three principal ministers. The prince of Jiu had a beloved daughter who was sent in to the emperor, and when she disapproved of his debaucheries the tyrant killed her in his rage, and made mincemeat of her father. The prince of E objected, and vehemently remonstrated with him, whereupon he was sliced to pieces. Chang Chief of the West, hearing of all this, sighed furtively, but 'Tiger' the prince of Chong, being aware of it, informed the tyrant, who thereupon cast Chief of the West into prison at Youli. His servant Hongyao and others procured a pretty girl, rare curiosities, and fine horses, which they presented to the tyrant, who thereupon pardoned Chief of the West. The latter went forth and gave the country to the west of the Luo river to the tyrant, and begged that he would abolish the punishment of roasting. The emperor agreed to this, and gave him bows, arrows, axes, and halberds, with a commission to start on a warlike expedition. He was appointed Chief of the West, and Feizhong was employed in the government. Feizhong was fond of flattery and greedy of gain, so the men of Yin were not attached to him. The tyrant also gave Elai an appointment, but Elai was fond of vilifying persons, so the princes became more and more estranged from the court.

32. Now Chief of the West, on returning from his expedition, secretly cultivated virtue, and was charitable; many of the princes revolted from the tyrant and gave their allegiance to Chief of the West, who from this time gained in influence, while the tyrant rather lost his authority. The monarch's son Bigan remonstrated with his father, but he was not listened to. Shangrong praised his worth, and the people loved him, but the tyrant set him aside. Chief of the West marched against and conquered the Ji State, and the tyrant's minister Zu-yi heard of it, and blaming [the house of] Zhou hurried off in alarm to report it to the tyrant. He said: 'Heaven is bringing to an end the destiny of our dynasty of Yin; great men and the ancient tortoise do not venture to foretell good fortune. It is not that the former kings do not aid us men of this later time; but you, O king, by your dissoluteness and oppression are cutting yourself off. Heaven has therefore rejected us; we do not eat our meals in peace, we do not consider our heavenly nature, we do not follow and observe the statutes. Our people are now all longing for the destruction of the dynasty, saying, Why does not Heaven send down its awe-inspiring authority? Why is not its great decree manifested? What remedy is there against the present king?' The tyrant said: 'Is not my life secured by the decree of Heaven?' Zu-yi returned, and said, 'The tyrant cannot be remonstrated with.' Chief of the West having died, King Wu of Zhou in his march eastward arrived at the ford of Meng. The princes revolted, and 800 princes of the house of Zhou having assembled declared that the tyrant ought to be attacked. King Wu said, 'You know nothing of Heaven's decree,' and retired.

33. The tyrant abandoned himself all the more to lust and dissipation, and the viscount of Wei remonstrated with him several times, but he would not heed, so having consulted with the senior and junior tutors the viscount of Wei withdrew from court. Bigan said, 'A minister cannot but argue to the death'; he accordingly remonstrated vehemently with the tyrant, who in a rage said, 'I have heard that the heart of a holy man has seven apertures,' and cut Bigan open to look at his heart. The viscount of Ji, in terror, then feigned himself mad, and became a slave, and the tyrant again imprisoned him. The senior and junior tutors of Yin, accordingly, taking the sacrificial and musical implements, hastened to the Zhou State, and King Wu of Zhou upon this marched at the head of the princes to attack the tyrant, who also sent out an army to withstand him in the plain of Mu. On the

day Jiazi the tyrant's troops were beaten, and he himself fled to the Stag tower, which he ascended, and, putting on his gorgeous robes and jewels, burnt himself to death. King Wu of Zhou then cut off the tyrant's head and exhibited it on a pole; he also slew Daji, released the viscount of Ji from prison, raised a tumulus over the grave of Bigan, and made a eulogy to the memory of Shangrong. His sons, Wugeng and Lufu, were appointed to continue the sacrifices to the Yins. He restored Pangeng's mode of administration, and the people of Yin were greatly rejoiced. Whereupon King Wu of Zhou became Son of Heaven (emperor). His descendants abolished the title of Di (divine emperor), and called themselves kings (Wang); and the descendants of the Yins were made princes subordinate to the house of Zhou.

34. After the death of King Wu of Zhou, Wugeng, Guanshu, and Caishu rebelled. King Cheng ordered the duke of Zhou to execute them, and the viscount of Wei was established in the Song State to continue (the ancestral worship as) a descendant of the Yins.

35. Grand Historian said: I have compiled a eulogy on Qi's deeds, from Cheng Tang onward, drawing materials from the Book of Documents and the Book of Songs. Qi belonged to the Zi clan; later, after being enfeoffed in different states, his descendants took their state names as surnames, including Yin Shi, Lai Shi, Song Shi, Kongsong Shi, Zhi Shi, Bei Yin Shi, and Mu Yi Shi. Confucius said: The chariots of Yin were well made, and they favored the color white.

End

Annals of the Zhou
周本紀

Shiji 4

1. Zhou Houji, courtesy name Qi. His mother was a daughter of the You Tai clan, named Jiang Yuan. Jiang Yuan was the principal wife of Emperor Ku. Jiang Yuan went out into the fields and saw a giant's footprint; her heart was delighted, and she wished to step on it. When she stepped on it, her body moved as if pregnant. After a full term, she gave birth to a child; thinking it an ill omen, she abandoned him in a narrow alley. Horses and cattle passing by all turned aside and did not trample on him; she moved him to place him in the forest, but at that time there happened to be many people in the mountains and woods, so she relocated him again; she then abandoned him on ice in a ditch, but birds flew over with their wings to cover and protect him. Jiang Yuan considered this to be divine, so she took him back, raised him, and he grew up. Initially wanting to abandon him, they named him Qi.

2. When he was a child, Qi stood tall with the aspirations of a giant. His games involved planting flax and beans; the flax and beans were beautiful. When he became an adult, he took up farming, observing the suitability of the land. Where it was suitable for grain, he cultivated and harvested crops; the people all followed his example. Emperor Yao heard of this and appointed Qi as chief agricultural officer. The world benefited from his work, and he achieved great success. Emperor Shun said: "Qi, when the people first suffered hunger, you, Houji, sowed the hundred grains in their season." He was enfeoffed at Tai and given the title Houji; he was distinguished by the surname Ji. Houji's rise to prominence occurred during the time of Taotang, Yu, and Xia; in each era he displayed noble virtue.

3. After Houji died, his son Bu Zhu succeeded him. In the later years of Bu Zhu's life, the rule of the Xia Hou clan declined; they abandoned agriculture and neglected it. As a result, Bu Zhu lost his official position and fled between Rong and Di territories. After Bu Zhu died, his son Ju succeeded him. After Ju died, his son Gong Liu succeeded him. Although Gong Liu was living among the Rong and Di, he revived Houji's endeavors, focusing on farming and cultivating land suited to its nature. He crossed from Qi and Ju rivers to Wei River, obtaining materials for use; travelers had provisions, residents had stored goods, and the people relied on his blessings. The common people cherished him, so many migrated to take refuge under his protection. The rise of the Zhou way began from this point; therefore, poets sang and rejoiced in thinking about his virtue. After Gong Liu died, his son Qingjie succeeded him, establishing the state at Bin.

4. After Qingjie died, his son Huangpu succeeded him. After Huangpu died, his son Chafu succeeded him. After Chafu died, his son Huishu succeeded him. After Huishu died, his son Gongfei succeeded him. After Gongfei died, his son Gaoyu succeeded him. After Gaoyu died, his son Yayu succeeded him. After Yayu died, his son Gongsushu Leilei succeeded him. After Gongsushu Leilei died, his son Gu Gong Danfu succeeded him. Gu Gong Danfu revived the endeavors of Houji and

Gong Liu, accumulating virtue and practicing righteousness; all the people of the state revered him. The Xunyu Rong and Di attacked them, seeking wealth and goods, which were given to them. When they attacked again, wanting land and people, the people were all angry and wished to fight. Gu Gong said: "A ruler is established for the people; it is to benefit them." "Now, what the Rong and Di do in attacking us is because of my land and people. Whether the people are with me or with them makes no difference." "The people wish to fight because of me, killing fathers and sons so they may be ruled by another; I cannot bear to do this." Thus he left Bin with his private followers, crossed the Qi and Ju rivers, passed over Liangshan Mountain, and settled at Qixia. The people of Bin carried their elderly on their backs and led the young with them, all returning to Gu Gong at Qixia as a whole nation. Other neighboring states hearing of Gu Gong's benevolence also returned in large numbers to him. Thus, Gu Gong abandoned the customs of the Rong and Di and began building city walls, houses, and established separate settlements. He appointed five officials with their respective duties. The people all sang and rejoiced, praising his virtue.

5. Gu Gong had an eldest son named Taibo, the second was Yuzhong. Taijiang bore a younger son Jili; Jili married Tairen, both of whom were virtuous women. They gave birth to Chang, who was born with signs of sainthood and auspicious omens. Gu Gong said: "There should be one in my lineage destined to rise, perhaps it is Chang?" The eldest son Taibo and Yuzhong knew that Gu Gong wanted to establish Jili as heir in order to pass on the succession to Chang, so the two of them fled to Jingman, tattooed their bodies, cut off their hair, and thus yielded the position to Jili.

6. After Gu Gong died, Jili succeeded him; he was known as Gong Ji. Gong Ji followed the legacy of Gu Gong, being earnest in practicing righteousness, and the feudal lords obeyed him.

7. After Gong Ji died, his son Chang succeeded him; he was called Xibo. Xibo, known as King Wen, followed the endeavors of Houji and Gong Lü, adhered to the laws of Gu Gong and Gong Ji, was earnest in benevolence, reverent toward elders, and kind to the young. He treated those of virtue with courtesy below him; he was so busy receiving scholars at midday that he had no time to eat, and many scholars thus returned to his side. Bo Yi and Shu Qi were in Gu Zhu; hearing that Xibo was good at caring for the elderly, they thought it best to go and submit to him. Tai Dian, Hong Yao, Sanyi Sheng, Yu Zi, and the official Xinjia were among those who went to submit to him.

8. Chong Hou Hu slandered Xibo to Yin Zhou, saying: "Xibo has accumulated virtue and good deeds; the feudal lords all look up to him. This will be detrimental to Your Majesty." King Zhou then imprisoned Xibo at Youli. Hong Yao and his followers were worried about this. They then sought a beautiful woman from the You Shen clan, fine horses from Li Rong, nine teams of horses from You Xiong, and other rare and strange treasures, which they presented to Zhou through his favored minister Fei Zhong. King Zhou was greatly pleased and said: "Even one of these items would be enough to release Xibo; how much more so with so many!" He then released Xibo and bestowed on him bows, arrows, axes, and halberds, allowing Xibo the right to conduct military campaigns. Saying: "The one who slandered Xibo was Chong Hou Hu." Xibo then offered the western territory of Luo in exchange for Zhou's removal of the punishment of cauldron roasting. King Zhou agreed to this.

9. Xibo secretly practiced virtue, and feudal lords all came for him to adjudicate disputes. At this time, people from Yu and Rui who had unresolved legal cases went to Zhou. Upon entering the territory, they saw farmers all yielding their field boundaries; the local customs emphasized yielding to elders. The people of Yu and Rui had not yet met Xibo, but they were already ashamed. They said

to each other: "What we are disputing is considered a disgrace by the people of Zhou; why should we go further? We would only bring shame upon ourselves." They then returned, both yielding and leaving. The feudal lords hearing of this said: "Xibo must be the one who has received the Mandate of Heaven."

10. The following year, he attacked Quan Rong. The next year, he attacked Mixu. The following year, he defeated the state of Qi. Zu Yi of Yin heard about this and was frightened; he reported it to King Zhou. King Zhou said: "Is there not the Mandate of Heaven?" "What can they possibly do!" The following year, he attacked Yu. The next year, he attacked Chong Hou Hu. He then built the city of Feng Yi and moved his capital from Qixia to Feng. The following year, Xibo died; his crown prince Fa succeeded him as King Wu.

11. Xibo had reigned for approximately fifty years. During his imprisonment at Youli, he is said to have expanded the eight trigrams of Yi into sixty-four hexagrams. Poets recounting Xibo say that in the year he received the Mandate, he declared himself king and adjudicated the dispute between Yu and Rui. Ten years later he died; his posthumous title was King Wen. He reformed laws and regulations, and established the calendar system. He posthumously honored Gu Gong as Taowang and Gong Ji as Wangji: it was said that the kingship's auspicious signs began with Taowang.

12. After King Wu ascended the throne, Tai Gong Wang served as his military advisor, and Zhou Gong Dan assisted him. Zhao Gong, Bi Gong, and others stood by the king on both sides, guiding and continuing King Wen's legacy.

13. In the ninth year, King Wu made a sacrifice at Bi. He inspected troops to the east and advanced as far as Mengjin. They made a wooden effigy of King Wen, placed it in a cart, and positioned it at the center of the army. King Wu referred to himself as Crown Prince Fa, stating that he was carrying out King Wen's will in waging war and did not dare act on his own authority. He then addressed the generals of War, Works, and Agriculture, as well as all officials: "Be orderly and cautious; be faithful indeed! "I am not wise, but because our ancestors had virtuous subjects, I, a mere youth, have inherited their achievements. We must fully establish rewards and punishments to determine the merit of each." Thus he raised his army. The general Shangfu proclaimed: "Gather your people and prepare your boats; those who arrive late will be executed." As King Wu crossed the river, a white fish leaped into his boat; he bent down to catch it and used it for sacrifice. After crossing, a fire appeared from above and descended to the ground, reaching King Wu's palace. It transformed into a bird with red feathers, its cry echoing like "po." At this time, 800 feudal lords gathered at Mengjin without prior appointment. The feudal lords all said: "Zhou can be attacked now." King Wu replied, "You do not yet know the Mandate of Heaven; it is not yet time." He then withdrew his army and returned.

14. After two years, he heard that Zhou's corruption and cruelty had grown even worse; he had killed Prince Bi Gan and imprisoned Ji Zi. The Grand Master Ci and the Junior Master Qiang carried their musical instruments and fled to Zhou. At this time, King Wu informed all the feudal lords: "The Yin dynasty has committed grave crimes; we cannot refrain from completely attacking it." Thus following King Wen's example, he led 300 chariots, 3,000 elite warriors, and 45,000 armed soldiers to launch an eastern campaign against Zhou. On the Wumu day of the twelfth month (January 21, 1048 BC), the entire army crossed the Mengjin ford and all feudal lords assembled. He said: "Work diligently without idleness!" King Wu then composed the Tai Shi, addressing the common people: "Now King Zhou of Yin has followed his concubine's words and cut himself off from Heaven. He

destroyed the three legitimate systems, alienated his father, mother, elder brothers, and younger brothers, abandoned the music of his ancestors, created licentious sounds to replace the proper harmonies, and delighted in pleasing women. Therefore, today I, Fa, march forward to carry out Heaven's punishment. Strive on, my men! This is a matter that cannot be repeated, not once, nor twice!"

15. On the Jiazi day of the second month (February 5, 1046 BC), at dawn, King Wu arrived in the Shang capital's outskirts at Musye and delivered a military oath. King Wu held a yellow halberd in his left hand and a white banner in his right to command the troops. He said: "How far have you people from the western lands come!" King Wu said, "Alas! I have my noble lords, the ministers of Works, War, and Agriculture, the officers of rank, the military commanders, the leaders of a thousand men and a hundred men, as well as the people from Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng, and Pu. Raise your spears, align your shields, and hold up your halberds; I shall now give my oath." The king said: "There is an old saying that 'a hen does not crow in the morning. When a hen crows, it means the family will be ruined.'" "Now King Zhou of Yin follows only the words of his concubines, abandoning the ancestral sacrifices and forsaking his family and state. He neglects his father, mother, elder brother, and younger brothers and instead elevates and trusts fugitives from all directions who have committed many crimes, allowing them to oppress the people and commit corruption in the Shang state. Now I, Fa, lead this campaign to carry out Heaven's punishment together with you all. Today's battle will not last more than six or seven paces, and then we shall stop to align ourselves. Strive on, my men!" It will not go beyond four or five or six or seven attacks, and then we shall pause to align. Strive on, my soldiers!" Be valiant and fierce, like a tiger or a bear, like a jackal or a leopard. In the outskirts of Shang, do not resist but pursue the fleeing enemy to serve the western lands. Strive on, my warriors!" "If you do not strive, there will be punishment for your bodies." After the oath was given, 4,000 chariots from allied feudal lords gathered and deployed their troops at Musye.

16. King Zhou heard of King Wu's approach and also mobilized 700,000 men to resist him. King Wu sent the general Shangfu and a hundred officers to challenge the enemy, while leading his elite troops in a charge against King Zhou's forces. Although Zhou's army was numerous, it had no will to fight and wished for King Wu to enter quickly. Zhou's troops all turned their weapons against each other in battle, opening the way for King Wu. King Wu charged forward, and Zhou's soldiers all collapsed and deserted him. Zhou fled back into the Lutai pavilion, wrapped himself in his special jade ornaments, and set himself on fire to die. King Wu held up a large white banner to signal the feudal lords, and all of them bowed before him. King Wu then saluted the feudal lords, who in turn all followed his lead. King Wu arrived at the Shang capital, where the people of Shang were already waiting for him in the suburbs. At this time, King Wu ordered his ministers to announce to the people of Shang: "Heaven has bestowed peace upon you!" The people of Shang all bowed twice in deep respect, and King Wu also returned their bows. They then entered the city and arrived at the place where Zhou had died. King Wu shot arrows at the body, fired three times before dismounting. He then struck it with a light sword and beheaded Zhou using his yellow halberd, hanging the head on a large white flag. Afterward, they arrived at the two favorite concubines of Zhou; both women had already committed suicide by hanging. King Wu shot three arrows at them, struck with a sword, and beheaded them using a black halberd, hanging their heads on small white flags. After this, King Wu returned to his army.

17. The next day, they cleared the roads and repaired the ancestral shrine as well as Zhou's palace in Shang. On schedule, a hundred men carried the Han flag to lead the way. King Wu's younger

brother, Shuzhen Duo, presented the ceremonial chariot with its standard; Duke of Zhou Dan held a large halberd, and Bi Gong held a small halberd to flank King Wu. Sanyi Sheng, Taodian, and Hong Yao all held swords to guard King Wu. After entering, they stood on the left side of the large formation in front of the ancestral shrine; all soldiers followed them to both sides. Mao Shu Zheng presented clear water, Wei Kangshu Feng arranged the sacrificial cloth, Zhao Gong Shi assisted in presenting the offerings, and General Shangfu led the sacrificial animal. Yin Yi recited the sacrificial prayer, saying: "The last descendant of Yin, Ji Zhou, destroyed and abandoned the virtuous deeds of his ancestors. He insulted and neglected the gods and spirits by not offering sacrifices, and tyrannized the people of Shang 邑, whose crimes are clearly known to Heaven and the Supreme Deity." At this, King Wu bowed twice in deep respect and said: "I accept the great mandate of Heaven. I will overthrow Yin and receive the clear Mandate from Heaven." King Wu again bowed twice in deep respect before leaving.

18. He granted the descendants of Zhou, Lu Fu, and the remaining people of Yin their fiefs. Since the newly conquered Yin territories were still unsettled, King Wu sent his younger brothers Guan Shu Xian and Cai Shu Du to assist Lu Fu in governing Yin. Later he ordered Zhao Gong to release Ji Zi from imprisonment. He also ordered Bi Gong to free the common people who had been imprisoned and marked the neighborhood of Shang Rong with honor. He ordered Nan Gong Kua to distribute the wealth from Lutai and release the grain stored at Juqiao in order to assist the poor, weak, and oppressed commoners. He ordered Nan Gong Kua and Shi Yi to inspect the Nine Tripods and preserve the jade treasures. He ordered Hong Yao to build a tomb for Bi Gan. He commanded the head priest to offer sacrifices in the army. Then he disbanded his troops and returned westward. He conducted a hunting expedition, recorded political affairs, and composed the Wu Cheng. He enfeoffed feudal lords, distributed ancestral ritual vessels as rewards, and created objects to divide Yin's possessions. King Wu, reflecting on the virtuous kings of old, honored and enfeoffed the descendants of Shen Nong in Jiao, those of Huang Di in Zhu, those of Emperor Yao in Ji, those of Emperor Shun in Chen, and those of Da Yu in Qi. At this time he enfeoffed meritorious ministers and strategists, with the general Shangfu being the first to receive a fief. He enfeoffed Shangfu at Yingqiu, naming it Qi. He enfeoffed his younger brother, the Duke of Zhou Dan, in Qufu, naming it Lu. He enfeoffed Zhao Gong Shi at Yan. He enfeoffed his brother Shu Xian in Guan and his brother Shu Du in Cai. The rest were granted fiefs in order of their rank.

19. King Wu summoned the lords from nine regions, climbed a hill in Bin, and looked out toward the Shang capital. When King Wu arrived at Zhou, he could not sleep through the night. Duke of Zhou Dan went to where King Wu was and asked: "Why are you unable to sleep?" The king said, "I will tell you: Heaven no longer supports Yin. Since the time when this calamity began until now, sixty years have passed; deer graze in pastures and flocks of wild geese fill the fields. "Heaven no longer favors Yin, and now we have succeeded." "Heaven established Yin, raising 360 virtuous men to prominence. They were neither honored nor eliminated, and this has continued until now." "I have not yet secured Heaven's protection; how can I find time to sleep!" The king said: "To secure Heaven's protection, we must rely on the Mandate of Heaven. We should thoroughly seek out those who committed evil and punish them for following King Zhou." Day and night, we have toiled to stabilize our western lands. I must now clearly demonstrate virtue and righteousness. From the Luo River to the Yi River, we should settle in a place that is convenient but not too vulnerable—this was where Xia once dwelled. I look south to Santu, north to Yuebi, glance at the Yellow River behind me, and also toward Luo and Yi rivers. We must not be far from Heaven's Mandate." We should establish a capital in Luoyi before departing. Release horses on the southern slopes of Mount Hua,

and let cattle graze at Taolin's plains; Lay down weapons and disband troops: this shows to the world that we will no longer use force.

20. Two years after King Wu had conquered Yin, he asked Ji Zi why Yin had fallen. Ji Zi could not bear to speak of Yin's evils and instead explained the principles for preserving or losing a state. King Wu was also ashamed, so he asked about the Mandate of Heaven as well.

21. King Wu fell ill. Before the world was fully pacified, the feudal lords were alarmed. They performed solemn divinations, and Duke of Zhou purified himself in fasting, offering to sacrifice his own life as a substitute for King Wu; King Wu then recovered from his illness. Later he died, and Crown Prince Song succeeded him, becoming King Cheng.

22. King Cheng was young when the Zhou dynasty had just stabilized its rule over the world; fearing that feudal lords might rebel, Duke of Zhou assumed regency and took charge of state affairs. Duke Guan, Duke Cai, and their brothers doubted the Duke of Zhou; they conspired with Wu Geng to rebel against the Zhou. The Duke of Zhou, acting on King Cheng's orders, launched a campaign and executed Wu Geng and Duke Guan, while exiling Duke Cai. He appointed Wei Zi Kai as the successor to the Yin dynasty, establishing his state in Song. He gathered many of the remaining Yin people and enfeoffed King Wu's younger brother Feng as Duke Kangshu of Wei. The Jin ruler Tang Shu obtained a rare grain, presented it to King Cheng, and King Cheng sent the grain back to Duke of Zhou at his military headquarters. Duke of Zhou received the grain in the eastern territories, with an imperial decree from the Son of Heaven for Lu. Initially, Duke Guan and Duke Cai rebelled against the Zhou; the Duke of Zhou quelled them, achieving full stability after three years. Hence, he first composed the Da Gao, then Wei Zi Zhi Ming, followed by Gui He, Jia He, Kang Gao, Jiu Gao, and Zi Cai; these events are recorded in the chapter on the Duke of Zhou. After seven years as regent, when King Cheng came of age, the Duke of Zhou returned power to him and resumed his position among the ministers with his face toward the north.

23. King Cheng was in Feng; he ordered Zhao Gong to resume construction of Luoyi as King Wu had intended. The Duke of Zhou again performed divinations and personally oversaw the site, finally completing its construction and placing there the Nine Tripods. He said: "This is the center of the world; distances for tribute from all directions are equal." The Zhao Gao and Luo Gao were composed. After King Cheng had relocated the remnants of Yin people, the Duke of Zhou issued a royal decree to them, composing Dushi and Wuyi. Zhao Gong served as the guardian (Bao), while Duke of Zhou was the teacher (Shi); they led an eastern campaign against the Huai Yi, destroyed Yan, and exiled its ruler to Bofeng. King Cheng returned from Yan and stayed in Zongzhou, composing Duofang. After the Yin dynasty was extinguished and the Huai Yi subdued, King Cheng returned to Feng, where he composed Zhou Guan. He revived proper rites and music; regulations were reformed accordingly, and the people lived in harmony, giving rise to songs of praise. After King Cheng had campaigned against the eastern Yi, Xishen came to offer congratulations; the king bestowed a reward on Rong Bo and composed Ming Zhi Hui Xi Shen.

24. As King Cheng was about to die, fearing that Crown Prince Zhao would be unfit for rule, he ordered Zhao Gong and Bi Gong to lead the feudal lords in assisting and enthroning the crown prince. After King Cheng died, the two ministers led the feudal lords and presented Crown Prince Zhao at the temple of his ancestors. They solemnly declared to him how arduous it had been for King Wen and King Wu to establish their dynasty, emphasizing the importance of frugality, avoiding excessive desires, and governing with sincerity; this is recorded in Gu Ming. Crown Prince Zhao

then ascended the throne, becoming King Kang. Upon ascending the throne, King Kang addressed all feudal lords, reiterating their ancestors' achievements of King Wen and King Wu; this is recorded in Kang Gao. Thus, during the reigns of Kings Cheng and Kang, the world enjoyed peace, and punishments were not used for over forty years. King Kang ordered Bi Gong to divide the population into residential districts in Chengzhou's suburbs; this is recorded in Bi Ming.

25. After King Kang died, his son Zhao Wang Xia ascended the throne. During King Zhao's reign, the royal way began to show slight decline. King Zhao went on a southern inspection tour and did not return, dying by the river. His death was not announced to the feudal lords; it was concealed. They enthroned King Zhao's son Man, who became King Mu. When King Mu ascended the throne, he was already fifty years old. The royal way had declined; King Mu, lamenting the neglect of King Wen and King Wu's principles, ordered Bo Li to reiterate warnings about governance for the Grand Master of Horses (Taifu); this is recorded in Li Ming. Peace was restored once more.

26. King Mu planned to campaign against the Quan Rong, and Jia Gong Mou Fu advised: "You must not." The former kings demonstrated virtue without displaying military might. Armed forces should be kept in readiness and used only at the right time; when used, they inspire awe. If merely displayed, they become trivialized, and people will no longer fear them. Therefore, the ode of Duke Zhao of Zhou says: "Store away weapons and bows in their sheaths; I seek noble virtue to spread across this land, so that the king may preserve it." The former kings treated the people by cultivating virtue and strengthening their moral character, enriching their resources and improving their tools for use. They clarified what was beneficial or harmful, refined these through culture, guided them to pursue benefits while avoiding harm, made them cherish virtue and respect authority—thus they could preserve their dynasty and grow stronger. In the past, our ancestors, as Houji, served the Yu and Xia dynasties in succession. When the Xia dynasty declined, they abandoned agriculture; our ancestor Bu Zhu lost his official position and fled into the lands of Rong and Di. They dared not neglect their duties, orderly cultivating virtue, following and restoring the legacy, preserving their teachings and traditions. Day and night they remained diligent, steadfast in loyalty and faithful in service. For generations, we have carried virtue forward, never disgracing our ancestors. By the time of King Wen and King Wu, they illuminated their predecessors' achievements with added benevolence and harmony; in serving deities and protecting the people, there was no one who did not rejoice. King Di Xin of Shang committed great evils against the people; the common folk could no longer endure it, and joyfully welcomed King Wu to bring war upon the Shang at Muyu. Therefore, our former kings did not seek warfare for its own sake; they encouraged compassion for the people's hardships and removed their afflictions. The former kings' system divided the realm: within the kingdom were the Dian Fu (immediate territories), beyond were the Hou Fu (marquisates); further still, the Bin Fu (attending vassals); then the Yao Fu of Yi and Man (frontier tribes); and finally the Huang Fu of Rong and Di (remote barbarians). Those in Dian Fu offered sacrifices; those in Hou Fu performed ancestral rites; those in Bin Fu presented offerings of tribute; those in Yao Fu paid tributes; and those in Huang Fu acknowledged the Son of Heaven's supremacy. Daily sacrifices, monthly ancestral rites, seasonal offerings, annual tribute, and perpetual submission to the king. When the former kings maintained proper rites, if a vassal failed to offer sacrifices, they would examine their own sincerity; if ancestral rites were neglected, they refined their words. If offerings ceased, they improved their culture; if tribute stopped, they corrected names and titles; if submission was refused, they cultivated virtue. Only after all these measures had been completed but still not achieved, then punishments were applied. Thus, there were penalties for those who did not offer sacrifices; they were attacked if ancestral rites were ignored, campaigned against if offerings ceased, admonished if tribute failed, and warned if submission was denied. Thus there were laws for

punishment, armies for attack, forces for expedition, commands of authority and admonition, and written proclamations. If decrees and proclamations were issued but still not heeded, then efforts should be redoubled in cultivating virtue, without burdening the distant people with toil. Therefore, nearby vassals would all obey, and distant ones would submit without exception. Now, since the time of Da Bi and Bo Shi passed away, the Quan Rong people have come to submit with their duties. The Son of Heaven said: "I must campaign against them for not offering tribute, just to test our military strength." Is this not abandoning the teachings of former kings, risking a sudden collapse of royal authority? I have heard that the Quan Rong are loyal and steadfast, upholding old virtues with unwavering resolve; they will surely be prepared to resist us." The king proceeded to campaign against them anyway, capturing four white wolves and four white deer before returning. From then on, the vassals of Huang Fu no longer submitted.

27. When feudal lords showed discord, Fu Hou advised the king and composed Xiu Xing Bi (Revised Criminal Code). The king said: "Ah, come here! You who hold states and lands, I now instruct you in the proper application of punishments. Now that you govern your people, who do you choose if not the right men? What punishment do you revere if not just? And what settlement is inappropriate for its purpose? When both parties are present, the judge shall examine five types of statements. If these five statements are concise and truthful, then judgment is rendered according to the Five Punishments. If the Five Punishments do not apply, then judgment falls under the Five Penalties. If the Five Penalties are still unsatisfactory, then judgment is based on the Five Faults. For faults under the Five Faults, officials and prison authorities must examine the truth of the crime, ensuring equal judgment for equal offenses. Doubts regarding the Five Punishments should be pardoned; doubts regarding the Five Penalties should also be pardoned—this must be carefully examined. Evidence and testimony must be abundant, and interrogations must have records for verification. Without thorough examination, there should be no doubt; together uphold the majesty of Heaven's authority. If branding punishment is questionable for pardon, then impose a fine of one hundred units and examine the truth of their crime. If cutting off the nose (Yi Bi) is questionable for pardon, impose a double fine and verify the actual crime. If amputating the knee bones (Bin Bi) is questionable for pardon, apply a doubled penalty and examine their true offense. If castration punishment (Gong Bi) is questionable for clemency, impose a fine of five hundred units and verify the crime's truth. If death penalty (Da Bi) is questionable for pardon, exact a fine of one thousand units and investigate the actual offense. Cases under the branding penalty totaled one thousand; those under nose-cutting also numbered one thousand. Cases of knee amputation amounted to five hundred, castration cases three hundred, and death penalty cases two hundred: altogether, 3,000 cases fell under the Five Punishments." This was called Fu Xing.

28. King Mu reigned for fifty-five years, then died; his son Gong Wang Yi Hu succeeded him. King Gong once toured the banks of the Jing River, accompanied by Mi Kanggong, when three women suddenly ran to him. Their mother said: "You must present them to the king. Animals in threes form a group, people in threes make a crowd, and three women together are dazzling. The king's hunting grounds do not take entire groups; the duke's procession does not pass over crowds; the king's harem does not include an entire family. Such beauty is a precious thing. Many people would offer such beautiful things to you—what virtue do you possess that could deserve it? Even the king himself might find it difficult to bear; how much more so for someone as lowly as you! To possess such treasures while lacking virtue, one is destined to perish." Mi Kanggong did not present the women. One year later, King Gong destroyed Mi. King Gong died and was succeeded by his son Yi Wang Jian. During King Yi's reign, the royal house gradually declined, prompting poets to compose satirical verses.

29. After King Yi died, King Gong's younger brother Pifang ascended the throne and became King Xiao. After King Xiao died, the feudal lords again enthroned Crown Prince Xie of King Yi, who became King Yi.

30. King Yi died and was succeeded by his son Hu, known as King Li. In the thirtieth year of King Li's reign, he favored profit and drew close to Gong Rongyigong. Minister Ruiliangfu advised King Li, saying: "Is the royal house about to become humble? Gong Rongyigong likes monopolizing profit without being aware of great dangers. Profit is the source from which all things arise, and it is supported by heaven and earth; to monopolize it will bring many harms. All things in heaven and earth will take from it—how can one possibly monopolize them? He has provoked great anger, yet he is unprepared for great dangers. Teaching the king in this way, how can King Li endure long? The ruler of a kingdom should guide profit and distribute it among all levels. He ensures that gods, humans, and all things receive their due share, always remaining vigilant against resentment arising. Therefore the "Song" says: 'Thoughtful was Houji, who could match heaven; he established our people, none without your due share.' The Da Ya says: 'He bestowed blessings upon the Zhou dynasty.' This is because he did not monopolize profit and feared difficulties, thus enabling the Zhou to endure until now. Now that King Li learns to monopolize profit, how can this be acceptable? Even an ordinary person who monopolizes profit is called a thief; if the king does so, few will remain loyal to him. If Gong Rongyigong is employed, the Zhou dynasty will surely fall." King Li did not listen and eventually appointed Gong Rongyigong as a high official in charge of affairs.

31. The king acted with cruelty, extravagance, and arrogance, prompting the common people to criticize him. Zhao Gong advised, saying: "The people can no longer bear their burdens." The king became angry and obtained a diviner from the State of Wei to supervise those who criticized him, ordering that anyone reported would be executed. Criticism soon ceased, and feudal lords no longer paid homage. In the thirty-fourth year, King Li became even more severe; the people dared not speak openly, communicating only with glances on the roads. King Li was pleased and told Zhao Gong: "I have silenced criticism; they now dare not speak." Zhao Gong said, "This is merely blocking it. Blocking the people's mouths is worse than blocking water. When water is dammed up, it will burst forth and cause great harm; so too with the people. Therefore, those who manage water must channel it to prevent flooding; those who govern the people should encourage them to speak freely. Therefore, when the Son of Heaven administers government affairs, he invites ministers and officials down to commoners to present poems; blind musicians offer songs; historians submit records; teachers give advice; sightless men recite verses; young boys chant; artisans criticize; common people pass on words; close attendants offer their best counsel; relatives supplement and observe; blind historians teach and instruct, while elders revise them. Only after this does the king deliberate carefully, thus ensuring that affairs proceed without contradiction. The people have mouths, just as the land has mountains and rivers from which wealth arises; just as it has plains, lowlands, and fertile fields where clothing and food are produced. From spoken words come declarations, in which good or bad fortune is revealed. To act virtuously and prepare for failure—this is the way to produce wealth, clothing, and food. The people consider matters in their hearts and express them with their mouths; when they reach consensus, they act upon it. If you block their mouths, how long can your support last?" King Li did not listen. As a result, no one in the kingdom dared to speak; three years later, they united and rebelled, attacking King Li. King Li fled to Zhi.

32. Crown Prince Jing, the son of King Li, hid in Zhao Gong's house; when the people learned of this, they surrounded it. Zhao Gong said: "In the past I repeatedly advised the king, but he did not listen, and thus this disaster has come. If we now kill the king's crown prince, will the king regard

me as an enemy and become enraged? To serve a ruler, one may face danger without becoming enemies or harboring resentment; how much less so when serving the king!" He therefore offered his own son in place of the crown prince. The crown prince thus managed to escape.

33. Zhao Gong and Zhou Gong, the two ministers, administered government affairs together; this period was known as "Gonghe." In the fourteenth year of the Gonghe era, King Li died in Zhi. Prince Jing had grown up in Zhao Gong's household; the two ministers then jointly enthroned him as king, who became King Xuan. After King Xuan ascended the throne, the two ministers assisted him in restoring government and following the legacy of Kings Wen, Wu, Cheng, and Kang; feudal lords once again revered the Zhou dynasty. In the twelfth year, Lord Wu Gong of Lu came to pay homage.

34. King Xuan did not conduct a land survey at Qianmu; Gao Wengong advised that it was unwise, but the king would not listen. In the thirty-ninth year, a battle took place at Qianmu, where King Xuan's army suffered a defeat by the Jiangshi Rong.

35. After losing the southern forces, King Xuan conducted a census of the people in Taiyuan. Zhong Shanfu advised: "The people cannot be counted." King Xuan did not listen and proceeded to conduct the census.

36. In the forty-sixth year, King Xuan died; his son Gongsheng was enthroned as King You. In the second year of King You's reign, three rivers in the western region of Zhou all experienced earthquakes. Boyangfu said: "The Zhou dynasty is about to fall. Heaven and earth's vital energies do not lose their order; If they exceed this order, it is due to the people causing disorder. When yang energy is suppressed and cannot emerge, and yin pressure cannot rise, earthquakes occur as a result. Now that the three rivers have indeed experienced an earthquake, it means yang has lost its proper place and is filling yin's domain. When yang is displaced into yin, the springs must become blocked; If the springs are blocked, the state will surely perish. Water and land provide for the people's use. If the land provides nothing, the people will lack resources; how long can it avoid collapse! In the past, when the Yi and Luo rivers dried up, the Xia dynasty fell; when the Yellow River dried up, the Shang dynasty perished. Now the virtue of Zhou is as in the final years of the Xia and Shang dynasties; its rivers and springs are also blocked, and when they are blocked, they will dry up. A state must rely on mountains and rivers; if the mountains collapse and the rivers dry up, it is an omen of a fallen kingdom. When rivers dry up, mountains will inevitably collapse. If a kingdom is to fall, it should not take more than ten years; this is the cycle of numbers. What heaven abandons will not exceed its destined cycle." In this year, the three rivers dried up and Mount Qi collapsed.

37. In the third year, King You favored Bao Si. Bao Si bore a son named Bo Fu; King You wanted to depose the crown prince. The crown prince's mother was the daughter of Shen Hou and had been queen. Later, King You acquired Bao Si and loved her dearly; he wanted to depose Queen Shen and remove Crown Prince Yi Jiu, making Bao Si the queen and Bo Fu the crown prince. Zhou's chief historian Boyangfu read historical records and said: "The Zhou dynasty is doomed." In the waning years of the Xia royal house, two divine dragons stopped at the court of a Xia emperor and said: "We are the two deities of Bao." The Xia emperor divined whether to kill them, drive them away, or leave them be; none of these options proved auspicious. He then divined that if he collected their saliva and preserved it, this would bring good fortune. Thus, the emperor offered sacrifices with offerings and made a vow to them; then the dragons vanished but left behind their saliva, which was placed in a chest and stored away. When the Xia fell, this vessel passed into the hands of the Shang dynasty. lando Thus it passed to the Zhou when the Shang fell. For three successive dynasties, no one dared

open it; but in the later years of King Li's reign, it was opened and examined. The saliva flowed into the courtyard and could not be removed. King Li ordered women to strip naked and shout at it. The saliva transformed into a black tortoise, which entered the king's harem. A young concubine in the palace, after bathing and encountering it, became pregnant upon reaching marriageable age; she gave birth to a child without a husband and was afraid, so she abandoned it. During King Xuan's reign, young girls sang a nursery rhyme: "The bow and 箕 robe—these will bring the downfall of the Zhou kingdom." Hearing this, King Xuan ordered that a couple selling such an object be arrested and executed. They fled along the road and saw a child abandoned by the palace concubine on the roadside; hearing it cry at night, they felt pity and took it in. The couple then escaped to Bao. The people of Bao committed a crime and requested to present the abandoned girl to the king as compensation for their guilt. The abandoned girl came from Bao, and this was Baosi. In the third year of King You's reign, a concubine in his harem saw her and loved her. A son named Bofu was born to her, and eventually, Queen Shen and Crown Prince were deposed; Baosi became queen and Bofu became crown prince. The Grand Historian Boyang said: "Disaster is now inevitable, there's nothing we can do about it!"

38. Baosi did not like to laugh. King You tried every means to make her smile, but she never laughed. King You set up beacon towers and large drums; when enemies approached, he would light the beacons. The feudal lords all arrived, but found no enemy forces—Baosi then laughed heartily. King You was pleased and repeatedly lit the beacons. Later, when real danger came, the feudal lords no longer believed him and did not come to his aid.

39. King You appointed Guoshi Fu as an official in charge of affairs, which caused resentment among the people of the state. Shifu was a flatterer who was cunning and greedy for profit; King You trusted him. He also deposed Queen Shen and removed the crown prince. Shen Hou was furious and allied with Zeng, the western Yi, and Quanrong to attack King You. King You lit the beacon fires to summon troops, but none came. They then killed King You at Lishan and captured Baosi, taking all the treasures of Zhou as spoils before leaving. At this time, the feudal lords then approached Shen Hou and jointly enthroned Youwang's former crown prince Yijiu, who became King Ping, to continue the ancestral rites of Zhou.

40. King Ping was enthroned and moved eastward to Luoyi to avoid the Rong and Koui invaders. During King Ping's reign, the Zhou royal house declined and grew weak; feudal lords began to dominate the weak. Qi, Chu, Qin, and Jin started to grow powerful, with authority resting in regional hegemonies.

41. In the forty-ninth year [of King Ping's reign], Duke Yin of Lu ascended the throne.

42. In the fifty-first year, King Ping died; Crown Prince Xiefu had died early, so his son Lin was enthroned, who became King Huan. King Huan was a grandson of King Ping.

43. In the third year of King Huan's reign, Duke Zhuang of Zheng paid homage, but King Huan did not treat him with courtesy. In the fifth year, Zheng resented this and exchanged Xu Tian with Lu. Xu Tian was a field used by the Son of Heaven for sacrifices at Mount Tai. In the eighth year, Lu killed Duke Yin and enthroned Duke Huan. In the thirteenth year, they attacked Zheng; Zheng shot and wounded King Huan, who then left in retreat.

44. In the twenty-third year, King Huan died, and his son Tuota was enthroned as King Zhuangwang. In the fourth year of King Zhuang's reign, Zhou Gong Heijian wanted to kill King Zhuang and install Crown Prince Ke as ruler. Xinbo informed the king, who then killed Zhou Gong. Prince Ke fled to Yan.

45. In the fifteenth year, King Zhuang died and was succeeded by his son Huqi, who became King Liwang. In the third year of King Li's reign, Duke Huan of Qi began to establish hegemony.

46. In the fifth year, King Li died and was succeeded by his son Lang, who became King Huwang. The second year of King Hui's reign. Initially, King Zhuang had a favored concubine named Yao, who bore him a son named Tui; Tui was also favored. When King Hui ascended the throne, he seized land from his ministers to create a hunting ground. Thus, officials Bianbo and five others rebelled, planning to summon armies from Yan and Wei to attack King Hui. King Hui fled to Wen and later took refuge in Lu of Zheng. They enthroned King Li's younger brother Tui as king. The music and dancing continued, which angered the rulers of Zheng and Guo. In the fourth year, the rulers of Zheng and Guo attacked and killed King Tui, restoring King Hui to power. In the tenth year of King Hui's reign, he granted Duke Huan of Qi the title of hegemon.

47. In the twenty-fifth year, King Hui died and was succeeded by his son Zheng, who became King Xiangwang. King Xiang's mother had died early; his stepmother was known as Huiguo. Huiguo bore a son named Shudai, who was favored by King Hui, and thus King Xiang feared him. In the third year, Shudai conspired with Rong and Di tribes to attack King Xiang. In response, King Xiang wanted to execute Shudai, who fled to Qi. Duke Huan of Qi sent Guan Zhong to pacify the Rong tribes in Zhou and Xi Peng to pacify them in Jin. The king received Guan Zhong with the courtesy due to a high-ranking official. Guan Zhong declined, saying: "I am but a lowly official; the two ministers Guo and Gao are present to serve as guardians of the Son of Heaven." "If they come in accordance with the seasons, following Spring and Autumn, to receive the king's commands, what need is there for special rites?" "A subordinate official dares to decline." The king said: "Uncle, I commend your achievements; do not refuse my command." Guan Zhong finally accepted the rites befitting a lower-ranking official and returned. In the ninth year, Duke Huan of Qi died. In the twelfth year, Shudai returned to Zhou once more.

48. In the thirteenth year of King Xiang's reign, Zheng attacked Hua; the king sent You Sun and Bo Fu to plead for Hua, but the people of Zheng imprisoned them. Duke Wen of Zheng resented King Hui for not granting his cousin Duke Li the title upon his return, and also resented King Xiang for supporting Wei's claim over Hua; thus he imprisoned Bo Fu. The king was furious and planned to attack Zheng with the Di tribes. Fu Chen advised: "Whenever our Zhou dynasty moved east, we relied on Jin and Zheng." "The rebellion of Prince Tui was quelled thanks to Zheng's efforts. Now you would abandon them for a minor grievance!" The king did not listen. In the fifteenth year, the king allied with Di forces to attack Zheng. The king favored the Di people and planned to take their daughter as queen. Fu Chen advised: "Kings Ping, Huan, Zhuang, and Hui all benefited from Zheng's loyalty. The king is now abandoning close relatives to favor the Di; this cannot be allowed." The king did not listen. In the sixteenth year, the king dismissed the Di queen; in retaliation, the Di people came to punish him and killed Duke Tan. Fu Chen said: "I have repeatedly advised but was not heeded." "If I do not act now, will the king think me resentful?" So he led his followers to their deaths.

49. Initially, Huiguo wanted to install Prince Dai as king, so she conspired with the Di people; thus, they entered Zhou. King Xiang fled to Zheng and was housed in Si by Zheng. Prince Dai declared himself king, taking the Di queen whom King Xiang had dismissed and settling her in Wen. In the seventeenth year, King Xiang urgently appealed to Jin; Duke Wen of Jin welcomed him back and executed Shudai. King Xiang then bestowed on Duke Wen of Jin the jade gui, chang liquor, bow and arrows, granting him hegemony and ceding the area within the Yellow River to Jin. In the twentieth year, Duke Wen of Jin summoned King Xiang; King Xiang met him at Heyang and Jiantu. All feudal lords paid homage, and it was recorded euphemistically as "The Son of Heaven hunting in Heyang."

50. In the twenty-fourth year, Duke Wen of Jin died.

51. In the thirty-first year, Duke Mu of Qin died.

52. In the thirty-second year, King Xiang died and was succeeded by his son Renchen, who became King Qingwang. In the sixth year of King Qing's reign, he died; his son Ban was enthroned as Duke Kuangwang. In the sixth year of Duke Kuang's reign, he died and was succeeded by his younger brother Yu, who became King Dingwang.

53. In the first year of King Ding's reign, Duke Zhuang of Chu attacked the Rong tribes at Lukou and stationed his troops near Luoyi, sending envoys to inquire about the Nine Tripods. The king sent Wangsun Man to respond with diplomatic words, and the Chu forces withdrew. In the tenth year, Duke Zhuang of Chu besieged Zheng; Duke Bo of Zheng surrendered but was later restored to power. In the sixteenth year, Duke Zhuang of Chu died.

54. In the twenty-first year, King Ding died and was succeeded by his son Yi, who became King Jianwang. In the thirteenth year of Duke Jian's reign, Jin killed its ruler Li Gong and welcomed Prince Zhou from Zhou to be enthroned as Dou Gong.

55. In the fourteenth year, King Jian died and was succeeded by his son Xie Xin, who became King Lingwang. In the twenty-fourth year of King Ling's reign, Cui Zhu of Qi assassinated his ruler Duke Zhuang.

56. In the twenty-seventh year, King Ling died and was succeeded by his son Gui, who became King Jingwang. In the eighteenth year of King Jing's reign, the crown prince, Sheng, died young. In the twentieth year of King Jing's reign, King Jing favored his son Zhao and wished to make him heir. However, he died before doing so; factions supporting Prince Gai vied for power. The people enthroned the eldest son Meng as king, but Prince Zhao attacked and killed him. Meng became King Douwang. The Jin people attacked Prince Zhao and enthroned Gai, who became King Jing Wang.

57. In the first year of King Jing's reign (Jingwang), the Jin people brought in King Jing, but Prince Zhao declared himself ruler. King Jing could not enter and resided at Ze instead. In the fourth year, Jin led the feudal lords to bring King Jing into Zhou; Prince Zhao became a subject and the feudal lords built walls around Zhou. In the sixteenth year, followers of Prince Zhao again rebelled, forcing King Jing to flee to Jin. In the seventeenth year, Duke Ding of Jin escorted King Jing back into Zhou.

58. In the thirty-ninth year, Tian Chang of Qi killed his ruler Jian Gong.

59. In the forty-first year, Chu destroyed Chen. Confucius died.

60. In the forty-second year, King Jing died and was succeeded by his son Ren, who became King Yuanwang. In the eighth year of King Yuan's reign, he died and was succeeded by his son Jie, who became King Dingwang.

61. In the sixteenth year of King Ding's reign, the Three Jin states destroyed Zhi Bo and divided his territory among themselves.

62. In the twenty-eighth year, King Ding died; his eldest son Quji was enthroned as King Ai Wang. King Ai reigned for only three months, when his younger brother Shu attacked and killed him before enthroning himself as King Siwang. King Si reigned for five months, when his younger brother Wei attacked and killed him before taking the throne as King Kao Wang. These three kings were all sons of King Ding.

63. In the fifteenth year of King Kao's reign, he died; his son Wu was enthroned as Wang Wei Lie Wang.

64. King Kao granted a fief to his younger brother in the southern part of Henan, who became Duke Huan; this was done to continue the official duties previously held by the Zhou Gong. After Duke Huan died, his son Weigong succeeded him. Weigong died and was succeeded by Hugong, who then granted a fief to his youngest son in Gong to serve the king, titled Duke Hui of Dongzhou.

65. In the twenty-third year of Wang Wei Lie's reign, the Nine Tripods trembled. He conferred the title of feudal lords upon Han, Wei, and Zhao.

66. In the twenty-fourth year, he died; his son Jiao was enthroned as Anwang. That year, thieves killed King Sheng of Chu.

67. After reigning for twenty-six years, Anwang died and was succeeded by his son Xi, who became Liwang. In the second year of Liwang's reign, Zhou Taishi Dan met Duke Xian of Qin and said: "Initially, Zhou and the State of Qin were united but later separated. After five hundred years they will reunite again; seventeen years after their reunion, a hegemon or emperor shall emerge."

68. In the tenth year, Liwang died and was succeeded by his younger brother Bian, who became Xian Wang. In the fifth year of King Xian's reign, he congratulated Duke Xian of Qin, and Duke Xian declared himself Hegemon (Bo). In the ninth year, sacrificial offerings from Wenwang and Wuwang were presented to Duke Xiao of Qin. In the twenty-fifth year, Qin convened feudal lords in Zhou. In the twenty-sixth year, Zhou conferred the title of Hegemon (Bo) upon Duke Xiao of Qin. In the thirty-third year, he congratulated King Hui of Qin. In the thirty-fifth year, sacrificial offerings from King Wen and King Wu were presented to King Hui of Qin. In the forty-fourth year, King Hui of Qin declared himself king. After that, all feudal lords became kings.

69. In the forty-eighth year of King Xian's reign (Xianwang), he died and was succeeded by his grandson Ding, who became Shenjing Wang. Shenjing Wang reigned for six years before dying; he was succeeded by his son Yan, who became King Nanwang. During the reign of King Nan, Eastern and Western Zhou were separately governed. King Nan moved his capital to Western Zhou.

70. The Crown Prince Gong of Duke Wu of Western Zhou died, leaving five commoner sons with no clear heir designated. Sima Jian said to the King of Chu: "It would be better to offer land to Gongzi Jiu and request that he be named crown prince." Zuo Cheng said, "No. "If Zhou does not listen, it

would mean your wisdom is in trouble and relations with Zhou become distant." "It would be better to ask the Zhou ruler who he wishes to appoint, and discreetly inform Jian. Jian can then request that Chu provide land support for him." As a result, Gongzi Jiu was indeed appointed as crown prince.

71. In the eighth year, Qin attacked Yiyang and Chu came to its rescue. But because Zhou had allied with Qin, Chu planned to attack it. Su Dai spoke on behalf of Zhou to the King of Chu: "Why should Zhou be considered a disaster for Qin?" "To say that Zhou is more harmful to Qin than Chu is an attempt to force Zhou into the hands of Qin, hence the term 'Zhou Qin'." "Knowing that it cannot be resolved otherwise, Zhou will inevitably fall into the hands of Qin. This is the most effective way for Qin to obtain control over Zhou." "For your Majesty's benefit, if Zhou is friendly with Qin, you should be friendly to them; if not, still appear friendly. This will create distance between Zhou and Qin." "If Zhou severs ties with Qin, it must inevitably fall under your control in Ying."

72. Qin requested a passage through the territory between Eastern and Western Zhou to attack Han. Zhou feared that granting it would provoke Han's resentment, while refusing would anger Qin. Shi Yan said to the Zhou ruler: "Why not have someone tell Gongshu of Han, 'Qin dares to cut off Zhou and attack Han because they trust Eastern Zhou?" "Why don't you give land to Zhou and send a hostage to Chu?'" "Qin will certainly doubt that Chu does not trust Zhou, so Han will not be attacked." "He should also tell Qin: 'Han is strong and has given land to Zhou, intending to sow doubts about Zhou in the eyes of Qin. Zhou dares not refuse.'" "Qin will have no grounds to prevent Zhou from accepting, which means Zhou would receive land from Han while still complying with Qin."

73. Qin summoned the ruler of Western Zhou. The Western Zhou ruler feared going, so he had someone tell King of Han: "Qin has summoned the Western Zhou ruler to attack your southern region of Nanyang. Why don't you send troops to defend Nanyang?" "The Zhou ruler will use this as an excuse against Qin." "If the Zhou ruler does not enter Qin, then Qin certainly dare not cross the Yellow River to attack Nanyang."

74. Eastern Zhou and Western Zhou went to war; Han came to the aid of Western Zhou. Someone on behalf of Eastern Zhou advised King of Han: "Western Zhou is an ancient state of the Son of Heaven, possessing many precious ritual objects and treasures. "If Your Majesty keeps your troops in readiness without moving out, it will demonstrate virtue toward Eastern Zhou, and all the treasures of Western Zhou can certainly fall into our hands."

75. King Nan addressed Cheng Jun. Chu besieged Yongshi, and Han requested weapons and grain from Eastern Zhou. The ruler of Eastern Zhou was alarmed and summoned Su Dai to inform him. Dai said: "What is there for you to worry about in this matter? "I can ensure that Han will not request weapons and grain from Zhou, and I can also secure Gaodu for you." The ruler of Eastern Zhou said: "If you are truly capable, please proceed with full authority over the state." Dai met with Han's prime minister and said: "Chu has been besieging Yongshi for three months as expected, but after five months they still cannot capture it. This indicates that Chu is in a weakened state." "Now, your prime minister requests weapons and grain from Zhou; this is equivalent to informing Chu of its weakness." The Han prime minister said: "Well said. "The envoys have already been dispatched." Dai asked: "Why not give Zhou the city of Gaodu?" The Han prime minister became very angry and said: "We have already sent too many weapons and grain to Zhou. Why should we give them Gaodu?" Dai said: "Granting Gaodu to Zhou means that Zhou will be weakened and fall under Han's control. When Qin hears of this, they will certainly become furious with Zhou and refuse to allow

Zhou envoys passage. This way, Han can secure Gaodu while preserving Zhou." "Why not do it?" The prime minister said: "Good idea." As a result, Gaodu was indeed granted to Zhou.

76. In the thirty-fourth year, Su Li said to the Zhou ruler: "The Qin forces that defeated Han and Wei, crushed Shiwu's army, and captured northern Zhao cities such as Lin and Lishi were all led by Bai Qi. "He is a master of military strategy and also favored by the Mandate of Heaven." "Now he is leading troops beyond the frontier to attack Liang. If Liang falls, Zhou will be in danger." "Why doesn't Your Majesty send someone to persuade Bai Qi?" "He said, 'Chu has Yang Youji, an excellent archer. "From a hundred paces away from the willow leaf, he shoots and hits it every time out of a hundred attempts." "Hundreds of onlookers watched and all praised his archery skills." "A man stood by the side and said, 'Good. You can teach him to shoot.'" "Yang Youji became angry, dropped his bow, gripped his sword, and said, 'How dare you teach me to shoot?'" "The man replied, "It is not that I can teach you how to hold the bow with your left hand and draw it back with your right." "Shooting at a willow leaf from a hundred paces, hitting it every time out of a hundred shots, without pausing to catch your breath—after a while, when one's strength wanes and fatigue sets in, the bow becomes unsteady and the arrow bends. If you miss even once, all the previous efforts are wasted.'" "Now, having defeated Han and Wei, shattered Shiwu's forces, and captured the northern Zhao cities of Lin and Lishi, you have achieved many great feats." "Now you are leading troops beyond the frontier, crossing both Zhou states, bypassing Han, and attacking Liang. If this campaign fails even once, all previous achievements will be lost." "You would be better off claiming illness and not going out.'"

77. In the forty-second year, Qin defeated Huyang Yue. Ma Fan said to the ruler of Zhou: "Please have Liang build a city for Zhou." He then told King Liang, "If the king of Zhou falls ill or dies, I will certainly die as well. "I request to present the Nine Tripods myself to Your Majesty; if you accept the Nine Tripods, please also consider my fate." King Liang said, "Good." He then gave him troops and declared it was to garrison Zhou. But he told King Qin, "Liangan is not garrisoning Zhou; he is going to attack Zhou." "Your Majesty should send troops near the border to observe what happens.'" Qin indeed sent out troops. He then told King Liang again, "The king of Zhou is very ill; I request to delay and return later." "Now that Your Majesty has sent troops to Zhou, the feudal lords are all suspicious. If we take further action afterward, they will not believe us." "It would be better to have the soldiers build a city for Zhou in order to conceal any signs of trouble.'" King Liang said, "Good." He then ordered the construction of a city for Zhou.

78. In the forty-fifth year, a guest of the Zhou ruler told Zhou Ju: "Instead of what you are doing now, you should praise King Qin's filial piety and recommend Ying as the land for the 太后 to reside in. King Qin will surely be pleased; this way, you would gain good relations with Qin." "By cultivating good relations, the Zhou ruler will certainly regard it as your achievement." "If relations turn bad, those who advise the Zhou ruler to enter Qin will surely be punished.'" "When Qin attacked Zhou, Zhou Ju told King Qin: "For Your Majesty's benefit, it is not advisable to attack Zhou. "Attacking Zhou would bring little actual gain and would only cause fear among the states of the world." "If the world fears Qin in name, they will certainly unite with Qi to the east." "The army would be exhausted by fighting Zhou." "If all the states unite with Qi, then Qin will never become a hegemon." "The world wants to exhaust Qin and is urging Your Majesty to attack Zhou." "If Qin becomes exhausted by the whole world, then its commands will no longer be heeded.'"

79. In the fifty-eighth year, the Three Jin states resisted Qin. Zhou sent its prime minister to Qin, but because he considered Qin to be contemptible, he returned without proceeding further. A guest told

the prime minister: "It is still uncertain whether Qin is strong or weak." "Qin wants to know the situation of the three states. "You should urgently meet with King Qin and say, 'I will inform Your Majesty about changes in the eastern states.' King Qin will certainly value you highly." "If he values you, then Qin will value Zhou. Through this, Zhou can gain influence over Qin; "if Qi is valued, we already have Zhou Ju to manage relations with Qi: this way, Zhou will always maintain good relations with a powerful state.'" Qin trusted Zhou and sent troops to attack the Three Jin states.

80. In the fifty-ninth year, Qin captured Yangcheng Fushu of Han. The Western Zhou was frightened and turned against Qin, forming an alliance with other feudal lords. They mobilized the sharpest forces from all states to attack Qin at Yiqu, preventing Qin from accessing Yangcheng. King Zhao of Qin was furious and sent General Jiu to attack Western Zhou. The ruler of Western Zhou fled to Qin, kowtowed in submission and accepted guilt, offering all thirty-six of his fiefs and 30,000 people. Qin accepted the offerings and returned its ruler to Zhou.

81. The Zhou ruler and King Nan died, and the people of Zhou gradually fled eastward. Qin seized the Nine Tripods and other treasures, and relocated the Duke of Western Zhou to Danhu. Seven years later, King Zhuangxiang of Qin destroyed Eastern (Western) Zhou. Both the Eastern and Western Zhou were incorporated into Qin; thus, the Zhou dynasty ceased to exist with no further sacrifices offered in its name.

82. Grand Historian said: Scholars all claim that Zhou attacked the Shang dynasty and settled at Luoyi, but in reality this is not entirely accurate. King Wu planned it, and King Cheng sent Zhaogong to divinate a suitable location for the capital, where the Nine Tripods were placed. However, Zhou once again made Feng and Hao its capitals. It was not until the Quanrong defeated King You that Zhou moved east to Luoyi. What is referred to as "the Duke of Zhou was buried (me) [at] Bi," the location of Bi lies in Du, southeast of Hao. Qin destroyed Zhou. More than ninety years after the rise of Han, when the emperor was about to hold a ceremony on Mount Tai and conducted an eastern inspection tour reaching Henan, he sought descendants of Zhou. He granted thirty li of land to his descendant Jia, bestowing him with the title "Zhou Zinan Jun," ranking equivalent to marquises, in order to continue offering sacrifices to their ancestors.

End

Annals of Qin
秦本紀

Shiji 5

1. The ancestors of the Qin traced back to a descendant of Emperor Zhuanxu named Nüxiu. Nüxiu was weaving when a black bird fell and dropped an egg; Nüxiu swallowed it, and gave birth to a son named Daye. Daye married the daughter of Shaodian, who was named Nühua. Nühua gave birth to Dafei, who assisted Yu in controlling floods and managing water and land. After the task was completed, the emperor bestowed on him a black jade tablet. Yu accepted it and said: "It is not my ability alone that accomplished this; Dafei also served as an assistant." Emperor Shun said: "Ah, you Fei, for assisting Yu's achievements, I shall bestow upon you a black flag. Your descendants will greatly flourish." He then married a woman of the Yao clan, the daughter of Yu. Dafei bowed and accepted it; he assisted Shun in taming birds and beasts, many of which became domesticated. He was thus known as Baiyi. Shun bestowed upon him the surname Ying.

2. Dafei had two sons: one was named Dalian, who became the ancestor of the Niaosu clan; the other was named Ruomu, who became the ancestor of the Fei clan. His great-great-grandson was Feichang; his descendants were either in China or among the Yi and Di peoples. During the time of Jie, ruler of Xia, Feichang left Xia and joined Shang; he served as a charioteer for Tang and helped defeat Jie at Mingtiao. Dalian's great-great-grandson was Mengxi, Zhongyan; he had a bird-like body but spoke human language. Emperor Taipu heard of this and divined whether to appoint him as a charioteer; the result was auspicious, so he appointed him as his charioteer and married him to one of his daughters. From Emperor Taipu onward, Zhongyan's descendants continued to achieve great accomplishments and assisted the Yin state; thus, many of the Ying clan became prominent and eventually became feudal lords.

3. His great-great-grandson named Zhongyu lived among the western Rong tribes and was in charge of protecting the western frontier. He gave birth to Feilian. Feilian had a son named Elai. Elai was strong and powerful, while Feilian was fast; father and son both served Yin Zhou with their talents and strength. When King Wu of Zhou attacked Zhou, he also killed Elai. At that time, Feilian was quarrying stone in the north for Zhou and returned without anything to report. He built an altar on Huotaishan Mountain to make a sacrifice; there he found a stone coffin with an inscription stating: "The Emperor commanded Chu Fu not to be involved in the chaos of Yin, and bestowed upon you this stone coffin as the Hua clan." After his death, he was buried on Huotaishan Mountain. Feilian also had a son named Jisheng. Jisheng gave birth to Mengzeng. Mengzeng was favored by King Cheng of Zhou; he was known as Zaigao Lang. Zaigao Lang had a son named Hengfu, and Hengfu had a son named Zao Fu. Zaofu was favored by King Miao of Zhou for his skill in driving chariots. He obtained a team of four fine horses: Ji, Wenli, Huailou, and Luer, and accompanied the king on a western tour; he enjoyed it so much that he forgot to return. When Xu Yanwang rebelled, Zaofu drove the chariot for King Miao and galloped back to Zhou at full speed, covering a thousand li in one day to quell the rebellion. King Miao granted Zaofu the city of Zhao as his fief, and from then

on, Zaofu's descendants bore the surname Zhao. From Feilian to Jisheng down five generations until Zaofu, they lived separately in Zhao. Zhao Cui was a descendant of them. Elaige was the son of Feilian, who died young. He had a son named Nufang. Nufang gave birth to Panggao, who in turn had a son named Taiji; Taiji had a son named Daluo, and Daluo had a son named Feizi. Because of Zaofu's favor, they were all granted the city of Zhao and took the surname Zhao.

4. Feizi lived in Quanqiu; he loved horses and livestock and was good at breeding and raising them. The people of Quanqiu spoke highly of him to King Xiaowang of Zhou, who summoned Feizi and appointed him to oversee horse breeding between the Qian and Wei rivers; as a result, the horses multiplied greatly. King Xiaowang wanted to appoint him as the legitimate heir of Daluo. Shen Hou's daughter was married to Daluo and gave birth to a son, Cheng, who became his legitimate heir. Shen Hou then said to King Xiaowang: "In the past, my ancestor's daughter of Lishan married Rong Xuxuan and gave birth to Zhongyu. Because of their kinship, they returned to Zhou and protected the western frontier; because of this, the western frontier remained peaceful and harmonious. Now I have once again married my daughter to Daluo, giving birth to his legitimate son Cheng. By marrying into the family of Daluo repeatedly, the western Rong all submitted; this is why we became kings." "Your Majesty should consider this." Thus King Xiaowang said: "In the past, Boyi was in charge of breeding livestock for Shun; because his livestock multiplied greatly, he received land and was granted the surname Ying. Now his descendants have also bred many fine horses for me; I shall therefore grant them a portion of land as vassals." He granted them the fief of Qin, allowing them to continue the ancestral rites of the Ying clan and called them Qinying. The daughter of Shen Hou who had been married as Daluo's legitimate wife was also not abandoned, in order to maintain harmony with the western Rong.

5. Qinying gave birth to Qin Hou. Ten years after Qin Hou ascended the throne, he died. He had a son named Gongbo. Three years after Gongbo ascended the throne, he died. He had a son named Qin Zhong.

6. Three years after Qin Zhong ascended the throne, King Li of Zhou was tyrannical and unjust; some feudal lords rebelled against him. The western Rong rebelled against the royal court and destroyed the Daluo clan of Quanqiu. When King Xuanwang of Zhou ascended the throne, he appointed Qin Zhong as a grand officer to punish the western Rong. The western Rong killed Qin Zhong. Twenty-three years after Qin Zhong's enthronement, he died at the hands of the Rong people. He had five sons; the eldest was named Zhuang Gong. King Xuanwang of Zhou summoned Zhuanggong and his four brothers, gave them 7,000 troops, and ordered them to attack the western Rong; they defeated them. Thus, Quanqiu, which had belonged to Daluo and the descendants of Qin Zhong, was once again granted to them, and they were appointed as dukes in charge of the western frontier.

7. Zhuanggong lived at his former residence in Xiquanqiu and had three sons, the eldest of whom was Shifu. Shifu said: "The Rong people killed my grandfather Zhong; I will not dare to enter the city until I have killed their king." He therefore led an attack on the Rong and passed his position as ruler to his younger brother Xianggong. Xianggong became the crown prince. Forty-four years after Zhuanggong's enthronement, he passed away; Crown Prince Xianggong succeeded him as ruler. In the first year of Xianggong's reign, he married his younger sister Miu Ying to King Fengwang. In the second year of Xianggong's reign, the Rong surrounded Quanqiu (Shifu). Shifu attacked them but was captured by the Rong people. After more than a year, he returned with Shifu. In the spring of the seventh year, King Youwang of Zhou deposed the crown prince because of Baosi and instead made

Baosi's son his legitimate heir. He repeatedly deceived the feudal lords, who then rebelled against him. The western Rong and Quanrong allied with Shen Hou to attack Zhou; they killed King Youwang at the foot of Lishan Mountain. Meanwhile, Qin Xianggong led troops to rescue Zhou and fought with great determination, achieving notable merit. The Zhou dynasty fled from the Quanrong threat and moved eastward to Luoyi; Xianggong sent troops to escort King Pingwang of Zhou. King Pingwang enfeoffed Xianggong as a feudal lord and granted him the land west of Qi. He said: "The Rong are unjust and have invaded and seized our lands of Qi and Feng; if Qin can attack and drive out the Rong, then they may possess that land." They made an oath, and enfeoffed him with a noble title. Xianggong thus began to establish his state, engaging in diplomatic exchanges and ceremonial visits with the feudal lords. He sacrificed three luoju horses, three yellow oxen, and three male sheep at the western altar (Zhi) to worship the Supreme Deity. In his twelfth year of reign, Xianggong attacked the Rong and reached Qi, where he died. He had a son named Wengong.

8. In the first year of Wengong's reign, he resided in Xichui Palace. In the third year, Wengong led 700 soldiers on an eastern hunting expedition. In the fourth year, he reached the confluence of the Qian and Wei Rivers. He said: "Long ago, King Xiaowang granted my ancestor Qinying this land as a fief; later, he was finally enfeoffed as a feudal lord." He then divined to determine whether it would be suitable for settlement. The omen was auspicious, so they established a city there. In the tenth year, he first built the Fu Zhi altar and performed sacrifices with three sets of livestock (three oxen). łó In the thirteenth year, they first appointed historians to record events; many people were thus influenced and transformed. In the sixteenth year, Wengong led troops against the Rong, who were defeated and fled. Thus, Wengong gathered the remaining people of Zhou under his control; his territory extended to Qi, which he then offered eastward back to Zhou. In the nineteenth year, they obtained the Chenbao treasure. In the twentieth year, legal codes were first established to punish crimes involving three clans. In the twenty-seventh year, they attacked the large zhi trees in Nanshan and captured a particularly large deer from Feng. In the forty-eighth year, Wengong's crown prince died; he was posthumously honored with the title Jinggong. Jinggong's eldest son became the crown prince, who was a grandson of Wengong. In the fiftieth year, Wengong died and was buried in Xishan Mountain. Jinggong's son ascended the throne; this was Ninggong.

9. In the second year of Ninggong's reign, the ruler moved his residence to Pingyang. He sent troops to attack Dangshe. In the third year, they fought against Bo; King of Bo fled to Rong and thus Dangshe was destroyed. In the fourth year, Gongzi Hui of Lu assassinated his ruler Duke Yin. In the twelfth year, they attacked Dangshi and captured it. Ninggong was ten years old when he ascended the throne; he reigned for twelve years before dying, and was buried in Xishan. He had three sons, with his eldest son Wugong being named crown prince. Wugong's younger brother Dugong was the son of Lu Jizi, their same mother. He had a son named Chuzi. After Ninggong died, Dashu chang Fuji, Weilei, and Sanfu deposed the crown prince and enthroned Chuzi as ruler. In the sixth year of Chuzi's reign, Sanfu and others again conspired to have assassins kill Chuzi. Chuzi was five years old when he became ruler; he reigned for six years before dying. Sanfu and others then restored the former crown prince Wugong to the throne.

10. In the first year of Wugong's reign, he attacked Pengxi Shi and advanced as far as beneath Mount Hua, where he resided in the palace at Pingyang Feng. In the third year, he executed Sanfu and others, exterminating three clans for their role in killing Chuzi. Gao Qumai of Zheng killed his ruler Duke Zhao. In the tenth year, they attacked Gui and Ji Rong tribes and established them as counties for the first time. In the eleventh year, Du and Zheng were first established as counties. They destroyed Xiao Guo.

11. In the thirteenth year, Guan Zhifu and Liancheng of Qi killed their ruler Duke Xiang and enthroned Gongsun Wuzhi. Jin destroyed Huo, Wei, and Geng. Yonglin of Qi killed Wuzhi, Guan Zhifu, and others, then enthroned Duke Huan of Qi. Qi and Jin became powerful states.

12. In the nineteenth year, Quwo of Jin first became ruler of Jin. Duke Huan of Qi held hegemony at Juan.

13. In the twentieth year, Wugong died and was buried at Yong Pingyang. Initially, people were sacrificed to accompany him in death; sixty-six individuals were sacrificed along with him. He had one son named Bai, but Bai was not enthroned and instead granted the fief of Pingyang. His younger brother Dugong ascended the throne.

14. In the first year of Dugong's reign, he initially resided in Dayizheng Gong palace in Yongcheng. He sacrificed three hundred sacrificial animals at Fu Zhi to perform ancestral rites. They divined the suitability of residing in Yong. Later, his descendants would drink horse water from the Yellow River. Liang Bo and Rui Bo came to pay homage. In the second year, they first observed the summer solstice; dogs were used to ward off malevolent spirits. Dugong was thirty-three years old when he ascended throne and reigned for two years before dying. He had three sons: the eldest son Xuangong, the second son Chenggong, and the youngest son Mugu. The eldest son Xuangong ascended the throne.

15. In the first year of Xuangong's reign, Wei and Yan attacked Zhou, expelled King Hui, and enthroned Prince Tui. In the third year, Duke Zheng of Bo and Guo Shu killed Prince Tui and restored King Hui to power. In the fourth year, they built Mi Zhi. They fought against Jin at Heyang and won. In the twelfth year, Xuangong died. He had nine sons, none of whom were enthroned; instead, his younger brother Chenggong became ruler.

16. In the first year of Chenggong's reign, Liang Bo and Rui Bo came to court for homage. Duke Huan of Qi attacked Shan Rong and stationed his troops at Gudong.

17. Chenggong reigned for four years before dying. He had seven sons, none of whom succeeded him; instead, his younger brother Mugu became ruler.

18. In the first year of Duke Muhao's reign, he personally led an attack on Maojin and won a victory. In the fourth year, he married a woman from Jin; she was the elder sister of Crown Prince Shen Sheng of Jin. That same year, Duke Huan of Qi attacked Chu and advanced as far as Shaoling.

19. In the fifth year, Duke Xian of Jin destroyed Yu and Guo, capturing Duke Yu and his minister Bai Li Xi; this was because they had previously offered jade and horses as bribes to Yu. After capturing Bai Li Xi, he was sent as a concubine attendant for Duke Muhao of Qin's wife to Qin. Bai Li Xi fled from Qin and went to Wan, where he was captured by a border official in Chu. Duke Muhao heard that Bai Li Xi was virtuous and wished to redeem him with a generous ransom, but feared the people of Chu would not agree. So he sent someone to tell Chu: "My 媵 (ying) servant Bai Li Xi is among you; please allow me to redeem him for five black-sheep hides." The people of Chu then agreed and allowed his release. At that time, Bai Li Xi was already over seventy years old. Duke Muhao released him from imprisonment and discussed state affairs with him. Bai Li Xi replied, "I am a minister of a fallen state; how could I be worthy of being asked?" Duke Muhao said, "Your former ruler Duke Yu did not employ you properly, so he fell; this is not your fault." He

insisted on asking for advice and held discussions with him for three days. Duke Muhao was greatly pleased, entrusted him with state affairs, and gave him the title "Wugu Da Fu." Bai Li Xi declined, saying: "I am not as capable as my friend Jian Shu; Jian Shu is virtuous but the world does not know of him. When I was once in distress while traveling in Qi and begging for food at Zhi, it was Jian Shu who took me in." I then wanted to serve Duke Wuzhi of Qi, but Jian Shu stopped me. Because of his warning, I escaped the troubles in Qi and went on to Zhou. Prince Tui of Zhou loved cattle; I approached him by offering my skills in raising cattle. When Prince Tui wanted to employ me, Jian Shu again stopped me; I left and thus avoided being executed. When I served Duke Yu of Yu, it was also Jian Shu who advised me." I knew that Duke Yu would not employ me. If I had truly desired personal gain and official rank, I would have stayed. I heeded his advice twice and thus escaped danger; once when I ignored it, I encountered the downfall of Duke Yu: this is why I know him to be virtuous." Hearing this, Duke Muhao sent generous gifts to invite Jian Shu and appointed him as an upper-ranking official.

20. In autumn, Duke Muhao personally led a campaign against Jin, fighting them at Hequ. Li Ji of Jin instigated a rebellion; Crown Prince Shen Sheng was killed in Xincheng, and Chonger and Yiwu fled into exile.

21. In the ninth year, Duke Huan of Qi convened a meeting with feudal lords at Kuichiu.

22. Duke Xian of Jin died. Li Ji's son Xi Qi was enthroned, but his minister Li Ke killed Xi Qi. Xun Xi enthroned Zhuozi, but Li Ke then killed Zhuozi and Xun Xi as well. Yiwu sent envoys to request assistance from Qin in order to return to Jin. Thus, Duke Muhao agreed and dispatched Bai Li Xi with troops to escort Yiwu back. Yiwu said: "If I truly become ruler, I will cede eight cities in the western part of Jin to Qin." After arriving and being enthroned, he sent Pi Zheng to thank Qin but broke the agreement by not giving the western cities of Jin, while also killing Li Ke. Pi Zheng heard about this and became fearful; thus he conspired with Duke Muhao, saying: "The people of Jin do not want Yiwu as ruler; they truly desire Chonger. Now that we have broken our agreement with Qin and killed Li Ke, it was all the plan of Lü Sheng and Xi Rui. I wish Your Majesty would urgently summon Lü and Xi with some advantage; once they arrive, we can then easily replace Yiwu with Chonger." Duke Muhao agreed and sent someone along with Pi Zheng to return, summoning Lü Sheng and Xi Rui back. Lü Sheng, Xi Rui, and others suspected that Pi Zheng had ulterior motives, so they claimed Yiwu ordered the killing of Pi Zheng. Pi Zheng's son Pi Bao fled to Qin and advised Duke Muhao: "The ruler of Jin is unjust, the people do not support him; he can be attacked." Duke Muhao replied: "If the common people are indeed dissatisfied, why were they able to execute their ministers?" "The fact that they could execute their ministers shows that it is well-organized." He did not listen openly, but secretly employed Pi Bao.

23. In the twelfth year, Guan Zhong and Xi Peng of Qi died.

24. Jin suffered from a drought and came to request grain aid. Pi Bao advised Duke Muhao not to give it, suggesting instead that they should take advantage of Jin's famine and attack them. Duke Muhao asked Gongsun Zhi, who said: "Famine or abundance are just natural occurrences; we cannot refuse to give aid." He asked Bai Li Xi, and Bai Li Xi said: "Yiwu has offended Your Majesty; what crime have his people committed?" Thus, following the advice of Bai Li Xi and Gongsun Zhi, they finally gave grain to Jin. Using boats for water transport and carts for land transport, grain was conveyed from Yong, with caravans stretching continuously all the way to Jiang.

25. In the fourteenth year, Qin suffered a famine and requested grain aid from Jin. The ruler of Jin consulted his ministers about it. Guoye said: "Take advantage of their famine to attack them; we can achieve great success." The ruler of Jin followed his advice. In the fifteenth year, they raised an army and prepared to attack Qin. Duke Muhao mobilized his troops, appointed Pi Bao as their commander, and personally went to fight them. On the Renxu day of the ninth month (October 10, 645 BC), Duke Muhao and Jin Hui Gong Yiwu engaged in battle at the Han region. The ruler of Jin abandoned his army to compete for advantage with Qin, and when he returned, his horses were exhausted. Duke Muhao rode with his subordinates in pursuit of the Jin ruler, but failed to catch him and was instead surrounded by the Jin army. The Jin forces attacked Duke Muhao, wounding him. At that time, the three hundred men from Qi Xia who had been fed and trained with good horses rushed into the Jin army. The Jin forces lifted their siege, allowing Duke Muhao to escape and capturing the ruler of Jin alive in return. Originally, Duke Muhao had lost a fine horse, which was found and eaten by more than three hundred local people from Qi Xia. Officials caught them and intended to punish them according to the law. Duke Muhao said: "A gentleman does not harm others because of livestock." "I have heard that eating the meat of a fine horse without drinking wine harms people." He then gave them all wine and pardoned them. The three hundred men, upon hearing that Qin was attacking Jin, all requested to join the campaign. When they saw Duke Muhao in a difficult situation, they rushed forward and fought fiercely for their lives, seeking to repay his kindness of sparing them after they had eaten his horse meat. Thus, Duke Muhao captured the ruler of Jin and brought him back, issuing an order in the state: "Prepare accommodations for me; I will sacrifice the ruler of Jin to Heaven." The Zhou emperor heard about it and said, "Jin is my fellow surname," and he pleaded for the ruler of Jin. Yiwu's sister was also Duke Muhao's wife, and upon hearing this, the lady put on mourning clothes, removed her shoes, and said: "My brothers are unable to rescue each other; I am disgracing Your Majesty's command." Duke Muhao said: "I captured the ruler of Jin as a feat, but now the Son of Heaven is pleading for him, and my wife is worried." He then made an oath with the ruler of Jin, agreed to return him, lodged him in a superior residence, and provided him with seven sets of sacrificial offerings. In the eleventh month, Duke Muhao returned Yiwu, the ruler of Jin; in return, Yiwu offered the western region of the Yellow River and sent his crown prince Yu as a hostage to Qin. Qin gave Yu's wife a noblewoman from their clan. At that time, Qin territory extended eastward to the Yellow River.

26. In the eighteenth year, Duke Huan of Qi died. In the twentieth year, Qin annexed Liang and Rui.

27. In the twenty-second year, Jin's Prince Yu heard that his father was ill and said: "Liang is my mother's hometown, yet it has been destroyed by Qin." "I have many brothers; if the ruler lives a hundred years, after his death, Qin will surely keep me as hostage, and Jin will be weak. They may also install another son instead." Prince Yu then fled back to Jin. In the twenty-third year, King Hui of Jin died, and his son Yu was enthroned as ruler. Qin resented Prince Yu for fleeing, so they welcomed Jin's prince Chonger from Chu and married him to the former wife of their son Yu. Chonger initially refused but later accepted. Duke Muhao treated him with increasing courtesy and generous hospitality. In the spring of the twenty-fourth year, Qin sent envoys to inform Jin's ministers that they wished to bring Chonger into power. Jin agreed, and thus sent people to escort Chonger. In the second month, Chonger was enthroned as the ruler of Jin; this is known as Duke Wen. Duke Wen sent people to kill Prince Yu. Prince Yu was later known as King Huai.

28. That autumn, Duke Xiang of Zhou's younger brother Dai, with the help of Di people, attacked the king; the king fled and took refuge in Zheng. In the twenty-fifth year, the Zhou king sent envoys to seek help from Jin and Qin regarding his crisis. Duke Muhao of Qin led troops to assist Duke Wen

of Jin in restoring King Xiang, killing the king's younger brother Dai. In the twenty-eighth year, Duke Wen of Jin defeated Chu at Chengpu. In the thirtieth year, Duke Muhao assisted Duke Wen of Jin in besieging Zheng. Zheng sent envoys to tell Duke Muhao: "Destroying Zheng would strengthen Jin; this benefit goes to Jin, but brings no advantage to Qin." "A strong Jin is a concern for Qin." Duke Muhao then withdrew his troops and returned. Jin also withdrew its forces. In the winter of the thirty-second year, Duke Wen of Jin died.

29. A Zheng man offered to sell Zheng to Qin, saying: "I control its city gates; Zheng can be attacked by surprise." Duke Muhao consulted Jian Shu and Bai Li Xi, who replied: "Marching through several states for a thousand li to launch a surprise attack is rarely successful." "Moreover, if someone sells Zheng, how can we be sure that our own people have not informed Zheng of our plans?" "Therefore, it is not advisable." Duke Muhao said: "You do not understand; I have already made up my mind." He then mobilized the troops, appointing Meng Ming Shi, son of Bai Li Xi; Xi Qishu, son of Jian Shu; and Bai Yi Bing as commanders. On the day they set out, Bai Li Xi and Jian Shu both wept for them. Duke Muhao heard about this and became angry, saying: "I have sent out my troops, yet you two are discouraging them with your weeping. Why?" The two elders said: "We dare not discourage Your Majesty's army." "The troops are marching, and our sons have gone with them; we are old men, and we fear that by the time we return, it may be too late to see each other again. That is why we cried." After the two elders left, they told their sons: "If your army is defeated, it will surely be trapped in the Xiao Pass." In the spring of the thirty-third year, Qin's troops marched eastward, crossing Jin territory and passing through the northern gate of Zhou. King Zhou's grandson Man said: "The Qin army is disrespectful; what else awaits but defeat!" When the troops reached Hua, Zhang Gao, a merchant from Zheng who was selling cattle in Zhou, saw the Qin army and feared being killed or captured. He therefore presented his twelve oxen and said: "I have heard that your great state is going to punish Zheng; our ruler has carefully prepared defenses, but he sent me with these twelve oxen as a gift for your soldiers." The three Qin generals said to each other: "We were going to attack Zheng, but it seems that Zheng has already learned of our plan. If we go now, it will be too late." They then destroyed Hua. Hua was a border town of Jin.

30. At that time, the funeral rites for Duke Wen of Jin had not yet been completed. Crown Prince Xiang Gong was furious and said: "Qin has insulted our young ruler, taking advantage of the mourning period to destroy our Hua." He then donned black mourning clothes and mobilized troops, blocking the Qin forces at Xiao Pass. He attacked them and utterly defeated the Qin army, leaving not a single soldier to escape. They captured the three Qin generals and returned with them. Duke Wen's wife, a daughter of Qin, pleaded for the three captured Qin generals, saying: "The resentment Duke Muhao holds against these three men is deep in his bones. I wish to have them returned so that my lord may personally execute them and find satisfaction." Duke Wen of Jin agreed, returning the three Qin generals to Qin. When the three generals arrived, Duke Muhao wore plain clothes and met them in the suburbs. Facing the three men, he wept and said: "I was wrong not to follow the advice of Bai Li Xi and Jian Shu, thus disgracing you three. What crime have you committed?" "You must all work diligently to avenge this disgrace; do not be lazy." He then restored their official ranks as before and treated them even more generously.

31. In the thirty-fourth year, Crown Prince Shangchen of Chu assassinated his father King Chengwang and took the throne in his place.

32. Duke Muhao therefore once again sent Meng Ming Shi and others to lead troops against Jin, engaging them in battle at Pengya. Qin suffered a disadvantage and withdrew its forces back.

33. The Rong king sent You Yu to Qin. You Yu was originally a native of Jin, who had fled into the Rong and could speak the Jin language. Having heard that Duke Muhao was virtuous, he therefore sent You Yu to observe Qin. Duke Muhao showed You Yu the palaces and accumulated wealth of Qin. You Yu said: "If ghosts built these, they would be exhausted from their efforts. If humans did it, the people must have suffered greatly." Duke Muhao found this strange and asked: "In the Central States, governance is based on poetry, books, rites, music, laws, and regulations, yet disorder still occurs from time to time. Now, the Rong and Yi peoples have none of these; how can they govern? Is it not difficult?" You Yu smiled and said: "This is precisely why the Central States are in disorder. The most exalted Yellow Emperor himself established rites, music, laws and regulations as a model for the people to follow, yet could only achieve minor governance. In later generations, however, rulers became increasingly arrogant and licentious. They relied on the authority of laws and regulations to impose demands upon their subjects, and when the people were exhausted from this oppression, they resented their rulers for not showing benevolence or righteousness. Thus, resentment arose between ruler and subject, leading to usurpation and regicide, until entire clans were destroyed—this was all due to such causes. The Rong and Yi peoples are not like this. Their rulers embody pure virtue in dealing with their subjects, while the people hold loyalty and trust to serve their leaders. The governance of a single state is like the regulation of one body; they do not know how it is governed—this is truly the rule of a sage." At this, Duke Muhao withdrew and asked Neishi Liao: "I have heard that a neighboring state has a sage; this is a concern for an enemy state. Now You Yu is virtuous, and thus a threat to me—what should I do about it?" Neishi Liao said: "The Rong king resides in seclusion, and has not heard of the customs of the Central States. Your Majesty should try sending him female musicians to distract his mind; make a request for You Yu, in order to create an opening between them; keep him here without sending him back so that he misses his return date. The Rong king will find this strange and must surely suspect You Yu. Once there is a rift between ruler and minister, he can then be captured." Moreover, the Rong king loves music and will surely neglect his governance." Duke Muhao said: "Good." He then sat on the same mat with You Yu, shared food from the same set of vessels, and inquired thoroughly about its terrain and military situation. After this, he ordered Neishi Liao to send two groups of eight female musicians as a gift to the Rong king. The Rong king accepted them and was delighted; he did not return for an entire year. At this, Qin sent You Yu back to his homeland. You Yu repeatedly advised but was not heeded; Duke Muhao then sent people several times to secretly intercept You Yu, and thus You Yu left and surrendered to Qin. Duke Muhao received him with the courtesy of a guest and inquired about the conditions for attacking the Rong.

34. In the thirty-sixth year, Duke Muhao once again greatly increased rewards for Meng Ming and others, sending them to lead troops against Jin. They crossed the Yellow River and burned their boats, decisively defeating the Jin forces, capturing Wangguan and Hao in retaliation for the Battle of Xiao. The people of Jin all remained within their walled cities and dared not come out. At this, Duke Muhao personally crossed the Yellow River at Maojin, buried the corpses in Xiao, held a mourning ceremony for them, and wept for three days. He then made an oath before his troops, saying: "Alas, soldiers! Be quiet and do not make noise; I shall swear to you. Ancient people, with their gray-haired wisdom and careful deliberation, did nothing excessive." He made this oath to express regret for not following the strategies of Jian Shu and Bai Li Xi, so that future generations would remember his mistake. When virtuous men heard this, they all wept, saying: "Alas! The kindness of Duke Muhao toward others ultimately brought about the good fortune of Meng Ming."

35. In the thirty-seventh year, Qin used You Yu's strategy to attack the Rong king, annexing twelve states and expanding its territory by a thousand li, thus establishing dominance over the western

Rong. The Son of Heaven sent Zhaogong Guo to congratulate Duke Muhao with gongs and drums made of gold. In the thirty-ninth year, Duke Muhao died and was buried in Yong. One hundred seventy-seven people were sacrificed with him; among them, three virtuous ministers of the Yu clan —named Yan Xi, Zhonghang, and Zhen Hu—were also included in those who died with him. The people of Qin mourned for them and composed the poem "Huangniao" to commemorate their sacrifice. Virtuous men said: "Duke Muhao of Qin expanded his territory and strengthened the state, subduing the powerful Jin to the east and dominating the Rong and Yi to the west. Yet he did not become a leader among the feudal lords—this is indeed appropriate. After his death, he abandoned his people and took his virtuous ministers to die with him. When a former king passed away, he still left behind virtue and laws for posterity; how much more so should one refrain from taking away the virtuous men, good ministers, and people who grieve over their loss? Therefore, it is known that Qin would never again be able to launch eastern campaigns." Duke Muhao had forty sons; his crown prince Dao succeeded him, becoming Duke Kanggong.

36. The first year of Duke Kanggong's reign. Last year, when Duke Muhao passed away, Duke Xianggong of Jin also died; Xianggong's younger brother named Yong was born to a Qin woman and remained in Qin. In Jin, Zhao Dun wanted to install him as ruler and sent Sui Hui to come and welcome Yong back; Qin sent troops to escort him as far as Linghu. Jin instead installed Xianggong's son and attacked the Qin forces, which were defeated; Sui Hui then fled to Jin. In the second year, Qin attacked Jin and captured Wucheng as retaliation for the Battle of Linghu. In the fourth year, Jin attacked Qin and captured Shaoliang. In the sixth year, Qin attacked Jin and took Jima. A battle was fought at Hequ, where the Jin army suffered a major defeat. The people of Jin were concerned that Sui Hui, who was in Qin, would cause trouble. They therefore sent Wei Chouyu to pretend to defect and conspired with him, deceiving him into returning; thus, Sui Hui returned to Jin. Duke Kanggong reigned for twelve years before dying, succeeded by his son Duke Gonggong.

37. In the second year of Duke Gonggong's reign, Zhao Chuan of Jin assassinated his ruler King Linggong. In the third year, King Zhuangwang of Chu grew powerful and led troops north to Luo, where he inquired about the Zhou dynasty's tripod cauldrons. Duke Gonggong reigned for five years before dying; his son Duke Huangong succeeded him.

38. In the third year of Duke Huangong's reign, Jin defeated one of our generals. In the tenth year, King Zhuangwang conquered Zheng and defeated Jin forces north of the Yellow River. At that time, Chu was dominant and convened alliances among the feudal lords. In the twenty-fourth year, Duke Li of Jin had just ascended the throne and concluded an alliance with Duke Huangong of Qin across the Yellow River. After returning, however, Qin violated the treaty and conspired with Di to attack Jin. In the twenty-sixth year, Jin led feudal lords in an attack on Qin; the Qin army was defeated and fled, pursued as far as Jing before retreating. Duke Huangong reigned for twenty-seven years before dying; his son, Duke Jinggong, succeeded him.

39. In the fourth year of Duke Jinggong's reign, Luan Shu of Jin assassinated his king, Duke Li. In the fifteenth year, Qin rescued Zheng and defeated the Jin forces at Lu. At that time, Duke Dao of Jin was the leader among feudal lords. In the eighteenth year, Duke Dao of Jin grew powerful and frequently convened feudal lords to lead them in attacks on Qin, defeating its army. The Qin forces retreated, and the Jin troops pursued them across the Jing River to Yulin before returning. In the twenty-seventh year, Duke Jinggong went to Jin and formed an alliance with King Ping of Jin; however, he later violated it. In the thirty-sixth year, Gongzi Wei of Chu assassinated his king and declared himself ruler, becoming King Lingwang. Duke Jinggong's maternal younger brother, Houzi

Zhen, was favored; however, because he was wealthy, someone slandered him. Fearing punishment, he fled to Jin with a thousand chariots and retinue. King Ping of Jin said: "If Houzi is so wealthy, why did he flee on his own?" He replied: "The Duke of Qin is unjust. I feared punishment and wanted to return only in the reign of a later generation." In the thirty-ninth year, King Lingwang of Chu was powerful and convened feudal lords at Shen to become their leader, killing Qing Feng of Qi. Duke Jinggong reigned for forty years before dying; his son became Duke Aigong. Houzi returned once again to Qin.

40. In the eighth year of Duke Aigong's reign, Gongzi Qiji of Chu assassinated King Lingwang and declared himself ruler, becoming King Pingwang. In the eleventh year, King Pingwang of Chu came to seek a Qin princess as a wife for his crown prince Jian. Upon arriving in the state, he found her beautiful and took her as his own wife. In the fifteenth year, King Pingwang of Chu wanted to execute Jian, who then fled; Wu Zixu fled to Wu. The Jin royal house had become weak while the six powerful ministers grew strong, and they desired to attack each other internally; thus, for a long time, Qin and Jin did not engage in war against one another. In the thirty-first year, King Helu of Wu and Wu Zixu attacked Chu; the king of Chu fled to Sui, and Wu forces entered Ying. Chu's official Shen Baoxu came to plead for help, fasting for seven days while crying day and night. At this, Qin dispatched five hundred chariots to rescue Chu, defeating the Wu forces. After the Wu army withdrew, King Zhao of Chu was able to return to Ying. Duke Aigong reigned for thirty-six years before dying. The crown prince Yigong died early and did not ascend the throne; his son was instead installed as ruler, becoming Duke Huigong.

41. In the first year of Duke Huigong's reign [500 B.C.], Confucius served as an official in Lu. In the fifth year, Jin's ministers Zhongxing and Fan clans rebelled against Jin; Jin sent the Zhi clan and Zhao Jianzi to attack them. The Fan and Zhongxing clans fled to Qi. Duke Huigong reigned for ten years before dying; his son was installed as Duke Daogong.

42. In the second year of Duke Daogong's reign, Tian Qi, a minister of Qi, assassinated his ruler Ruzi and installed his elder brother Yangsheng, who became known as Duke Daogong. In the sixth year, Wu defeated the army of Qi. The people of Qi assassinated Duke Daogong and installed his son as Duke Jian Gong. In the ninth year, Duke Dinggong of Jin formed an alliance with King Fuchai of Wu; they vied for supremacy at Huangchi, and in the end, Jin prevailed over Wu. Wu grew strong and became arrogant toward the Central States. In the twelfth year, Tian Chang of Qi assassinated Duke Jian Gong and installed his younger brother as Duke Pinggong, with Chang serving as prime minister. In the thirteenth year, Chu annexed Chen. Duke Daogong of Qin reigned for fourteen years before dying; his son became Duke Ligong. Confucius died in the twelfth year of Duke Daogong's reign.

43. In the second year of Duke Ligong's reign, envoys from Shu came with tribute. In the sixteenth year, ditches were dug along the riverbanks. With an army of twenty thousand, they attacked Dali and captured its royal city. In the twenty-first year, Pingyang was first established as a xian (district). Jin captured Wucheng. In the twenty-fourth year, chaos erupted in Jin; Zhibo was killed and his territory was divided among Zhao, Han, and Wei. In the twenty-fifth year, Zhi Kai fled with townspeople to seek refuge. In the thirty-third year, they attacked Yiqu and captured its king. In the thirty-fourth year, a solar eclipse occurred. Duke Ligong died; his son was installed as ruler and became Duke Zao Gong.

44. In the second year of Duke Zao's reign, Nanzheng rebelled. In the thirteenth year, Yiqu launched an attack and reached Weinan. In the fourteenth year, Duke Zao died; his younger brother was installed as ruler and became Huai Gong.

45. In the fourth year of Huai Gong's reign, Shuzhang Chao and high-ranking ministers surrounded him; Huai Gong committed suicide. Huai Gong's crown prince was Zhaozi, who died early; the ministers then installed Zhaozi's son as ruler, who became Duke Linggong. Duke Linggong was a grandson of Huai Gong.

46. In the sixth year of Duke Linggong's reign, Jin built a city at Shaoliang; Qin attacked it. In the thirteenth year (of Duke Linggong's reign), they built a fortress at Jigu. Duke Linggong died; his son Xianggong did not ascend the throne, and instead Duke Linggong's younger uncle Daozi was installed as ruler, becoming known as Jian Gong. Jian Gong was the younger brother of Zhaozi and thus a son of Huai Gong.

47. In the sixth year (of Jiangong's reign), officials were first ordered to wear swords. Ditches were dug along the Luo River. A city was built at Chongquan. In the sixteenth year he died; his son became ruler and was known as Huigong.

48. In the twelfth year (of Huigong's reign), a son, Chuzi, was born. In the thirteenth year they attacked Shu and captured Nanzheng. Huigong died, and Chuzi was installed as ruler.

49. In the second year (of Chuzi's reign), Shuzhang Gai welcomed Xianggong, the son of Duke Linggong from the western bank of the Yellow River, and installed him as ruler. Chuzi and his mother were killed and drowned in a nearby ravine. In the past, Qin had frequently changed rulers; as a result, its officials and subjects became disordered, so Jin regained strength and seized western bank territories from Qin.

50. In the first year (of Xianggong's reign), he abolished the practice of human sacrifice upon death. In the second year, they built a city at Linyang. On the Gengyin day of the first month (January 21, 381 BC), Duke Xiao was born. In the eleventh year, Zhou's chief historian Dan met Xianggong and said: "Originally united with Qin but later separated, after five hundred years they will reunite again; seventeen (seven) years after their reunion, a hegemon or overlord shall emerge." In the sixteenth year, peach trees bloomed in winter. In the eighteenth year, it rained metal at Linyang. In the twenty-first year (of Xianggong's reign), Qin fought Jin at Shimen, beheading six thousand enemy soldiers; the Son of Heaven congratulated them with embroidered robes. In the twenty-third year (of Xianggong' reign), Qin fought Wei and Jin at Shaoliang, capturing their general Gongsun Cuo. In the twenty-fourth year (of Xianggong' reign), Xianggong died; his son Xiao Gong was installed as ruler, already twenty-one years old.

51. In the first year of Xiao Gong's reign, there were six powerful states east of the Yellow River and Taihang Mountains: Qi under Duke Wei, Chu under King Xuan, Wei under Duke Hui, Yan under Duke Dao, Han under Duke Ai, and Zhao under Marquis Cheng. There were more than ten small states between Huai and Si rivers. Chu, Wei, and Qin shared borders with each other. Wei built a long wall from Zheng along the Luoyang River to the north, controlling Shangjun Commandery. Chu controlled from Hanzhong in the north down to Ba and Qianzhong in the south. The Zhou royal house had declined, and feudal lords vied for power, competing to conquer one another. Qin was isolated in Yongzhou, did not participate in alliances among the Central States' feudal lords, and was treated as a barbarian. Duke Xiao thus extended kindness, supported orphans and widows, recruited

warriors, and clarified rewards for meritorious service. He issued an edict throughout the state: "In former times, my predecessor Duke Mu, from between Qi and Yong, cultivated virtue and wielded military might. He pacified the chaos in Jin to the east, setting the Yellow River as a boundary; he dominated the Rong and Di tribes to the west, expanding territory by thousands of li. The Son of Heaven conferred hegemony upon him, and all feudal lords offered congratulations, laying an illustrious foundation for future generations." "However, in the past, during the reigns of Duke Li, Duke Zao, Duke Jian, and Chuzi, there was internal unrest; the state faced domestic troubles and had no time for external affairs. The Three Jins attacked and seized the western bank territories from our ancestors, and the feudal lords looked down upon Qin—nothing could be more humiliating." "When Duke Xiang ascended the throne, he stabilized and pacified the borders, moved the capital to Linyang, and wished to launch eastern campaigns to reclaim the territories once held by Duke Mu and restore his policies." "I often think of my ancestors' aspirations, which deeply pain me in my heart." "Any guest or official among you who can devise an extraordinary strategy to strengthen Qin, I shall bestow with high office and share territory with him." At this time, he dispatched troops eastward to encircle Shancheng and westward to slay the chieftain of Rong.

52. Wei Yang heard about this decree, traveled west into Qin, and through Jing Jian requested an audience with Duke Xiao.

53. In the second year (of Xiao Gong's reign), the Son of Heaven presented sacrificial meat as a token of recognition.

54. In the third year, Wei Yang advised Duke Xiao to reform laws and strengthen punishments; internally, he promoted agriculture, and externally, he encouraged rewards and penalties for battlefield valor. Duke Xiao approved of this plan. Gan Long, Du Zhi, and others disagreed, and they debated with him over the matter. In the end, Wei Yang's reforms were implemented; the common people suffered from them; After three years, the people found it convenient. He was then appointed as Zuo Shuzhang (Left Commander). The details of these events are recorded in the Discourses on Lord Shang.

55. In the seventh year, he met Duke Hui of Wei at Duping. In the eighth year, Qin fought against Wei at Yuanli and achieved a victory. In the tenth year, Wei Yang was appointed Daliangzao (a high-ranking official) and led troops to besiege Anyi of Wei, which surrendered. In the twelfth year, construction began on Xianyang; the Jique was built, and Qin moved its capital there. Small towns and villages were consolidated into large xians (districts), each governed by a county magistrate, totaling forty-one counties. The boundaries of farmland were standardized with roads and ditches. Territories to the east crossed the Luo River. In the fourteenth year, land taxes were first levied. In the nineteenth year, the Son of Heaven conferred the title of hegemon upon Qin. In the twentieth year, all feudal lords offered their congratulations. Qin sent Gongzi Shaoguan to lead an army and join other feudal lords at Fengze to pay homage to the Son of Heaven.

56. In the twenty-first year, Qi defeated Wei at Maling.

57. In the twenty-second year, Wei Yang attacked Wei and captured Gongzi Ang of Wei. Wei Yang was enfeoffed as a marquis with fiefdoms, given the title Lord Shang Jun (Lord Shang).

58. In the twenty-fourth year [of Duke Xiao's reign], Qin fought against Jin at Yanmen and captured their general Wei Cuo.

59. Duke Xiao died; his son Huwen Jun was installed as ruler. In this year, Wei Yang (Lord Shang) was executed. When Lord Shang first implemented laws in Qin, the laws were not enforced because the crown prince violated them. Lord Shang said: "The failure to enforce the law stems from the nobles and relatives of high rank." "If Your Majesty truly wishes to implement the law, it must begin with the crown prince." "The crown prince cannot be tattooed; let us tattoo his tutors and teachers instead." Thus, the law was strictly enforced, and the people of Qin were governed effectively. After Duke Xiao died and the crown prince ascended the throne, many members of the royal family resented Lord Shang. Fleeing for his life, he was accused of rebellion and ultimately torn apart by chariots as a warning to the state of Qin.

60. In the first year of Huwen Jun's reign, envoys from Chu, Han, Zhao, and Shu came to pay homage. In the second year, the Son of Heaven sent congratulations. In the third year, the king was crowned. In the fourth year, the Son of Heaven presented sacrificial meat from the rites for Wen and Wu. Qi and Wei also declared themselves kings.

61. In the fifth year, Yinjin native Xi Shou was appointed Da Liangzao (a high-ranking official title). In the sixth year, Wei ceded Yinjin; Yinjin was renamed Ningqin. In the seventh year, Gongzi Ang fought against Wei, captured their general Long Jia, and beheaded 80,000 enemy soldiers. In the eighth year, Wei ceded the Hexi region to Qin. In the ninth year, crossing the Yellow River, they captured Fenyin and Pishi. They met with King Wei at Ying. Jiao was besieged and surrendered. In the tenth year, Zhang Yi became prime minister of Qin. Wei ceded fifteen counties in Shangjun to Qin. In the eleventh year, Yiqiu was established as a county. Jiao and Quwo were returned to Wei. The ruler of Yiqiu became a vassal subject. Shaoliang was renamed Xiayang. In the twelfth year, the practice of holding a winter solstice ceremony began for the first time. On the Wuwu day of the fourth month in the thirteenth year, King Wei was declared king; Han also declared its ruler a king. Qin sent Zhang Yi to attack and capture Shan, expelling its people and transferring them to Wei.

62. In the fourteenth year, it was changed to the first year [of a new era]. In the second year, Zhang Yi met with high-ranking officials from Qi and Chu at Niesang. In the third year, the crown princes of Han and Wei came to pay homage. Zhang Yi became prime minister of Wei. In the fifth year, the king toured as far north as Beihe River. In the seventh year, Yuechi became prime minister of Qin. Han, Zhao, Wei, Yan, Qi, and the Xiongnu led a joint attack on Qin. Qin sent Shuzhang Ji to fight against them at Xiuyu, captured their general Shen Cha, defeated Zhao's Gongzi Ke and Han's Crown Prince Huan, and beheaded 82,000 enemy troops. In the eighth year, Zhang Yi once again became prime minister of Qin. In the ninth year, Sima Cuo attacked Shu and destroyed it. Ten years later, Qin captured Zhongdu and Xiyang from Zhao. In that year, Crown Prince Cang of Han came as a hostage to Qin. Qin attacked and captured Shizhang from Han. Qin defeated Zhao's general Ni in battle. Qin attacked and captured twenty-five cities from Yiqiu. In the eleventh year, Cui Li Ji attacked Jiao in Wei and forced it to surrender. Qin defeated Han at Anmen, beheaded 10,000 soldiers, and their general Xi Shou fled. Gongzi Tong was enfeoffed in Shu. The ruler of Yan ceded the throne to his minister Zi Zhi. In the twelfth year, King of Qin met with Liang Wang at Linjin. Shuzhang Ji attacked Zhao and captured their general Zhuang. Zhang Yi became prime minister of Chu. In the thirteenth year, Shuzhang Zhang attacked Chu at Danyang, captured their general Qu Gai, and beheaded 800,000 enemies; Qin then attacked the Hanzhong region of Chu again, captured six hundred li of territory, and established the Hanzhong Commandery. Chu besieged Yongshi; Qin sent Shuzhang Ji to assist Han and launched an eastern attack on Qi, reaching Man to help Wei in its campaign against Yan. In the fourteenth year [of King Huiwen's reign], Qin attacked Chu and

captured Zhaoling. Dan and Li submitted to Qin; Shu prime minister Zhuang killed the ruler of Shu, who then surrendered to Qin.

63. King Huai died; his son King Wu was enthroned. Han, Wei, Qi, Chu, and Yue all submitted to Qin as vassals.

64. In the first year of King Wu's reign, he met with King Hui of Wei at Linjin. The prime minister of Shu, Zhuang, was executed. Zhang Yi and Wei Zhang both left for the east to go to Wei. Qin launched a campaign against Yiqiu, Dan, and Li. In the second year [of King Wu's reign], the office of Chancellor was first established; Cui Li Ji and Gan Mao were appointed as Left and Right Chancellors, respectively. Zhang Yi died in Wei. In the third year [of King Wu's reign], he met with King Xiang of Han outside Linjin. Nan Gong Jie died; Cui Li Ji became prime minister of Han. King Wu said to Gan Mao, "I wish for my chariot to pass through the Three Rivers region and glimpse the Zhou royal court; if I die with this accomplished, I shall have no regrets." That autumn, King Wu sent Gan Mao and Shuzhang Feng to attack Yiyang. In the fourth year [of King Wu's reign], Yiyang was captured, and 60,000 enemy heads were beheaded. Crossing the Yellow River, they built a city at Wusui. The crown prince of Wei came to pay homage. King Wu was strong and enjoyed physical contests; the wrestlers Ren Bi, Wu Huo, and Meng Yue all attained high-ranking positions. The king and Meng Yue lifted a bronze tripod together, causing the latter to break his knee. In August, King Wu died. The Meng Yue family was exterminated. King Wu had taken a woman from Wei as his queen, but they had no children. His half-brother was enthroned; this ruler became known as King Zhaoxiang. King Zhaoxiang's mother, a native of Chu, surnamed Mi, was called the Queen Dowager Xuan. When King Wu died, King Zhaoxiang had been a hostage in Yan; the people of Yan sent him back, and he was enthroned.

65. In the first year [of King Zhaoxiang's reign], Yan Jun Ji became prime minister. Gan Mao left for Wei. In the second year, a comet appeared in the sky. Shuzhang Zhuang and high-ranking officials, feudal lords, and gongzi (princes) who conspired to rebel were all executed. The queen dowager of King Huwen also did not die a natural death. The widow of Duke Dao Wu was sent back to Wei. In the third year, [King Zhaoxiang] was crowned. He met with King of Chu at Huangji and ceded Shangyong to Chu. In the fourth year, Qin captured Puban. A comet appeared in the sky. In the fifth year, King Wei came to pay homage at Yingting; Qin returned Puban to Wei once again. In the sixth year, Lord Hui of Shu rebelled; Sima Cuo pacified Shu and restored order. Shuzhang Huan attacked Chu and beheaded 20,000 of its soldiers. Jingyang Jun was sent as a hostage to Qi. A solar eclipse occurred, and daylight turned dark. In the seventh year [of King Zhaoxiang's reign], Xincheng was captured. Chu Li zi died. In the eighth year, General Mi Rong was sent to attack Chu and captured Xinshi. Qi sent Zhang Zi, Wei sent Gongsun Xi, and Han sent Bao Yuan to jointly attack Fancheng in Chu; they captured Tangmei. Zhao defeated Zhongshan; its ruler fled and eventually died in Qi. Prince Jing of Wei and Prince Zhang of Han were enfeoffed as feudal lords. In the ninth year, Mengchang Jun Xue Wen came to serve as chancellor of Qin. Huan attacked Chu, captured eight cities, and killed its general Jing Kuai. In the tenth year, King Huai of Chu came to pay homage to Qin, but Qin detained him. Xue Wen was dismissed from office for accepting bribes in gold. Lou Huan became chancellor. In the eleventh year, Qi, Han, Wei, Zhao, Song, and Zhongshan—the five states—jointly attacked Qin; they advanced as far as Yanshi before retreating. Qin ceded the area north of the Yellow River and Fengling to Han and Wei in order to make peace. A comet appeared. King Huai of Chu fled to Zhao, but Zhao refused him entry; he was returned to Qin, where he died and was sent back for burial. In the twelfth year, Lou Huan was dismissed from office, and Ranghou Wei Ran became chancellor. Five hundred thousand dan of grain were given to Chu.

66. In the thirteenth year, Xiang Shou attacked Han and captured Wushi. Zuogeng Bai Qi attacked Xincheng. Wudaidfu Li fled and defected to Wei. Ren Bi was appointed as the governor of Hanzhong. In the fourteenth year, Zuogeng Bai Qi attacked Han and Wei at Yique, beheaded 240,000 soldiers, captured Gongsun Xi, and seized five cities. In the fifteenth year, Daliangzao Bai Qi attacked Wei, captured Yuan, but returned it to them again. He attacked Chu and captured Wan. In the sixteenth year, Zuogeng Cuo captured Zhi and Deng. Wei Ran was dismissed; Gongzi Shi Wan, Gongzi Kui Deng, and Wei Ran Tao were enfeoffed as vassal lords. In the seventeenth year, Chengyang Jun came to pay homage, along with King of Dongzhou. Qin renamed Yuan as Puban and Pishi. The king went to Yiyang. In the eighteenth year, Cuo attacked Yuan and Heyong, breached the bridge, and captured them. In the nineteenth year, the king declared himself Western Emperor, while Qi declared itself Eastern Emperor; both later abandoned these titles. Lü Li returned from exile and came back to Qin. Qi defeated Song; King of Song, who was in Wei, died in Wen. Ren Bi died. In the twentieth year, the king went to Hanzhong, then to Shangjun and Behe. In the twenty-first year, Cuo attacked Heinei in Wei. Wei offered Anyi to Qin; Qin expelled its inhabitants and recruited people from Hedong, granting them noble ranks and pardoning criminals for relocation. Jingyang Jun was enfeoffed in Wan. In the twenty-second year, Meng Wu attacked Qi. Hedong was divided into nine counties. Met with King of Chu in Wan. Met with the King of Zhao at Zhongyang. In the twenty-third year, Wei Sili joined forces with the three Jin states and Yan to attack Qi; they defeated them at the western bank of the Ji River. The king met with King Wei in Yiyang, and with King Han in Xincheng. In the twenty-fourth year, he met with King of Chu at Yan, then again at Rang. Qin captured Ancheng from Wei and advanced as far as Daliang; however, the armies of Yan and Zhao came to its rescue, forcing Qin's troops to withdraw. Wei Ran was dismissed from his position as chancellor. In the twenty-fifth year, two cities of Zhao were captured. Met with King Han in Xincheng and with King Wei in Xinmingyi. In the twenty-sixth year, convicts were pardoned and relocated to Rang. Hou Ran was reinstated as chancellor. In the twenty-seventh year, Cuo attacked Chu. Convicts were pardoned and resettled in Nanyang. Bai Qi attacked Zhao and captured the city of Guanglang. Qin also sent Sima Cuo from Longxi, through Shu to attack Qianzhong in Chu, and captured it. In the twenty-eighth year, Daliangzao 白起 attacked Chu, capturing Yan and Deng, and pardoned convicts to relocate them there. In the twenty-ninth year, Daliangzao Bái Qǐ attacked Chu, captured Ying and established it as Nanjun; King of Chu fled. The ruler of Zhou came. The king met with the King of Chu at Xiangling. Bai Qi was conferred the title Wuan Jun. In the thirtieth year, Shou Ruo of Shu attacked Chu, captured Wujun, and took control of the southern bank of the Yangtze River, establishing it as Qianzhong Jun. In the thirty-first year, Bai Qi attacked Wei and captured two cities. The people of Chu rebelled against our forces in the southern bank region. In the thirty-second year, Chancellor Ranghou attacked Wei and advanced to Daliang. He defeated Bao Yuan, beheaded 40,000 troops; Yuan fled, and Wei offered three counties in exchange for peace. In the thirty-third year, Keqing Hu Yang attacked Juan, Caiyang, and Changshe in Wei and captured them. He defeated Mang Mao at Huayang, beheading 150,000 enemy soldiers. Wei ceded Nanyang to Qin in order to make peace. In the thirty-fourth year, Qin combined Shangyong territory of Wei and Han into one commandery; Nanyang exiles were relocated there. In the thirty-fifth year, Qin assisted Han, Wei, and Chu in attacking Yan. Nanyang Jun was first established as a commandery. In the thirty-sixth year, Keqing Zao attacked Qi and captured Gang and Shou, which were granted to Ranghou. In the thirty-eighth year, Zhonggeng Hu Yang attacked Eyu in Zhao but failed to capture it. In the fortieth year, Crown Prince Dao died in Wei and was returned for burial in Zhiyang. In summer of the forty-first year, Qin attacked Wei and captured Xingqiu and Huai. In the forty-second year, Anguo Jun was appointed crown prince. In the tenth month, Empress Dowager Xuan passed away and was buried at Lishan in Zhiyang. In September, Ranghou left for Tao. In the forty-third

year, Wuan Jun Bai Qi attacked Han, captured nine cities, and beheaded 50,000 enemies. In the forty-fourth year, they attacked Nanyang in Han and captured it. In the forty-fifth year, Wudaidfu Ben attacked Han and captured ten cities. Ye Yang Jun Kui left his state but died before reaching his destination. In the forty-seventh year, Qin attacked Shangdang in Han; Shangdang surrendered to Zhao. Taking advantage of this, Qin then attacked Zhao, and Zhao mobilized troops to resist, leading to a standoff between the two sides. Qin sent Wuan Jun Bai Qi to attack and decisively defeated Zhao at Changping, killing over 400,000 Sui soldiers. In the tenth month of the forty-eighth year, Han offered Yuanyong to Qin as a tribute. The Qin army was divided into three divisions. Wuan Jun returned. Wang He led the campaign against Zhao (Wuan) Pilao and captured it. Sima Geng pacified Taiyuan to the north, completely securing Shangdang of Han. In the first month, the military campaign ended and forces were redeployed to defend Shangdang. In the tenth month of that year, Wudaidfu Ling attacked Handan in Zhao. In the first month of the forty-ninth year, more troops were dispatched to assist Ling. Ling performed poorly in battle and was relieved of his post; Wang He took over command instead. In the tenth month, General Zhang Tang attacked Wei, but Cai 尉 Juan failed to defend and retreated; he was executed upon his return. In the tenth month of the fiftieth year, Wuan Jun Bai Qi committed a crime and was demoted to commoner status, being exiled to Yinmi. Zhang Tang attacked Zheng and captured it. In the twelfth month, additional troops were deployed to reinforce the army near Fencheng. Wuan Jun Bai Qi was found guilty of a crime and died. Wang He attacked Handan but failed to capture it, withdrew, and returned to the army at Fen. After more than two months of attacking Jin's forces, they beheaded 6,000 enemy soldiers. The defeated Jin and Chu troops drowned in the river, with 20,000 perishing. They attacked Fencheng, then followed Zhang Tang to capture Ningxinzhong, which was renamed Anyang. The construction of a river bridge began for the first time.

67. In the fifty-first year, General Jiu attacked Han, capturing Yangcheng and Fusu, and beheaded 40,000 enemy troops. They attacked Zhao, seizing more than twenty counties and taking 90,000 prisoners. The ruler of Xi Zhou betrayed Qin and formed an alliance with the feudal lords, mobilizing the sharpest troops from all under heaven to attack Qin through Yiqu, aiming to prevent Qin forces from passing through Yangcheng. As a result, Qin dispatched General Jiu to attack Xi Zhou. The ruler of Xi Zhou fled and surrendered himself, kowtowing in submission and offering all thirty-six walled cities and 30,000 people under his control. King Qin accepted the surrender and returned the ruler to Zhou. In the fifty-second year, the people of Zhou fled eastward, and its Nine Tripod Cauldrons were brought into Qin. The state of Zhou was first to fall.

68. In the fifty-third year, all under heaven came as guests in submission. After Wei submitted later on, Qin sent Jiu to attack Wei and captured Wucheng. The King of Han paid homage, and the ruler of Wei surrendered his state and obeyed Qin's commands. In the fifty-fourth year, the king performed a sacrificial rite to Heaven at Yong. In autumn of the fifty-sixth year, King Zhaoxiang died and his son Xiaowenwang ascended the throne. Tang Bashizi was honored as Empress Dowager Tang, and her burial was combined with that of the former king. The King of Han entered in mourning attire to pay respects and perform funeral rites, while feudal lords all sent their generals or ministers to mourn and conduct the ceremonies.

69. In the first year of Xiaowenwang's reign, convicts were pardoned; meritorious subjects from previous kings were honored and rewarded; relatives were given generous honors; and hunting reserves were opened up. After completing the mourning period, Xiaowenwang took the throne on the Jihai day of the tenth month. He died three days later, on the Xichou day, and his son Zhuangxiangwang ascended to the throne.

70. In the first year of King Zhuangxiang's reign, convicts were granted a general pardon; meritorious subjects of previous kings were honored and restored to their positions; kindness was shown to close relatives, and benevolence was extended to the people. The ruler of Dong Zhou conspired against Qin with feudal lords, and Qin dispatched Chancellor Lu Buwei to execute him, completely annexing his state. Qin did not extinguish the Zhou ancestral rites but granted territory in Yangren to the Zhou ruler, allowing him to continue their sacrificial ceremonies. Qin dispatched Meng Ao to attack Han, and Han surrendered Chenggao and Gong. The Qin border reached Daliang, marking the initial establishment of the Sanchuang Commandery. In the second year, Meng Ao was sent to attack Zhao and pacify Taiyuan. In the third year, Meng Ao attacked Gaodu and Ji in Wei and captured them. They attacked Yuci, Xincheng, and Langmeng in Zhao and seized thirty-seven walled cities. On an unspecified day in the fourth month, there was a solar eclipse. (Wang He attacked Shangdang.) The Taiyuan Commandery was first established. Wei general Wu Ji led an alliance of five states to attack Qin, and the Qin forces were driven back beyond the Yellow River. Meng Ao was defeated and withdrew in retreat. On the Bingwu day of the fifth month, King Zhuangxiang died, and his son Zheng ascended the throne, later known as Qin Shi Huangdi.

71. In the twenty-sixth year of King Zheng's reign, he first unified all under heaven into thirty-six commanderies and declared himself the First Emperor. The First Emperor passed away in his fifty-first year, and his son Huhai ascended the throne as Second Emperor. In the third year, feudal lords rose up in rebellion against Qin simultaneously; Zhao Gao killed the Second Emperor and installed Ziying as ruler. Ziying reigned for more than a month, but feudal lords executed him and thus Qin was destroyed. The account is recorded in the Annals of Emperor Qin Shi Huang.

72. Grand Historian said: The ancestors of Qin were of the Ying surname. Later, they were divided into fiefs and took their states as surnames, including the Xu clan, Tan clan, Ju clan, Zhongli clan, Yunyan clan, Tuqiu clan, Jiangliang clan, Huang clan, Jiang clan, Xiuyu clan, Baiming clan, Feilian clan, and Qin clan. However, the state of Qin took its surname from Zhao Cheng, where their ancestor Zaofu was enfeoffed, making them the Zhao clan.

End